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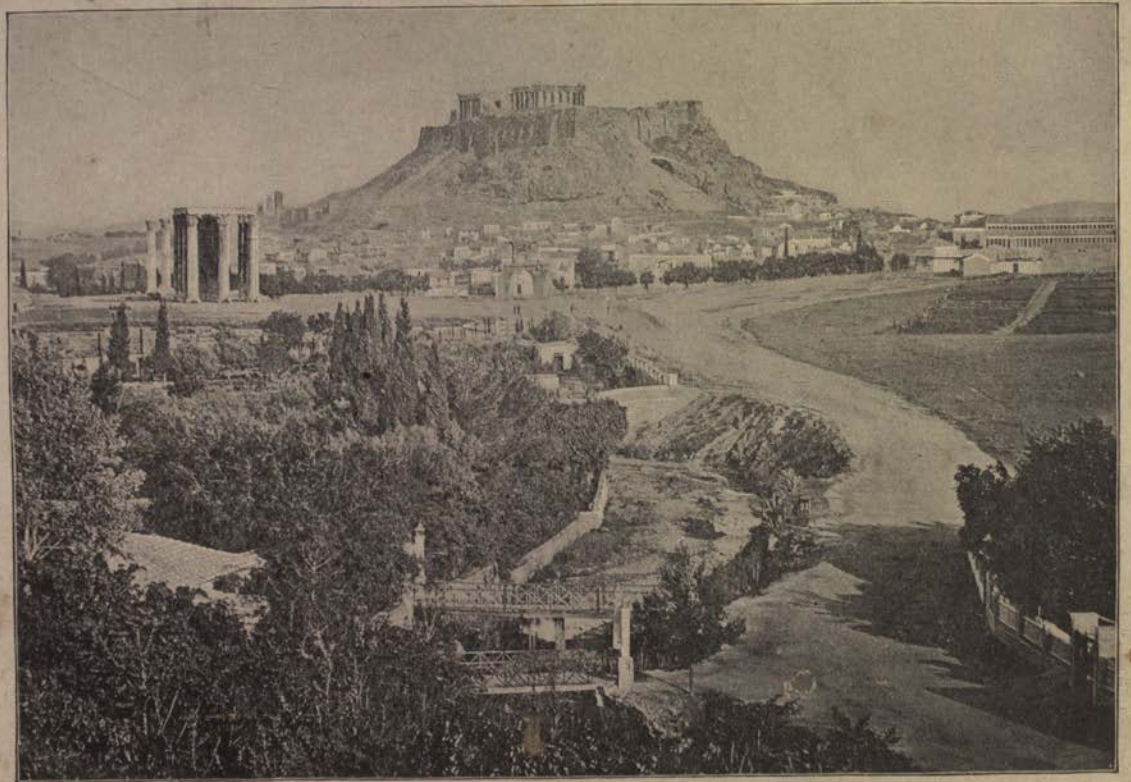
# A HISTORY OF GREECE



ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS

A

# HISTORY OF GREECE

FOR

## HIGH SCHOOLS AND ACADEMIES

BY

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# ACKNOWLEDGMENT

To the friends who have taken an interest in this volume, and who by criticism and suggestion have aided me in writing it, I owe a great debt of gratitude. Mr. Charles Lane Hanson of the Mechanic Arts High School, Boston, has read both manuscript and proofs, and has aided me especially in adapting the book, in form and in matter, to the use of secondary pupils. While his successful experience in high school work and his good judgment have been of great service to me, I am no less indebted to him for the encouragement and inspiration I have drawn from his friendship. Professor Emerton, my colleague, who has read most of the manuscript, has given me the benefit of his valuable criticism on the plan and method of the book. The proofs have been read by another colleague, Professor Wright, to whose scholarship important corrections and improvements are due. These helpers should not, however, be considered responsible in the slightest degree for any faults the book may contain. In the quotation of ancient authors I have followed, as closely as my plan would admit, the translators recommended in the Bibliography at the close of the volume. For the illustrations Professor White and Professor Moore have kindly placed at my disposal the collections of photographs belonging to the Department of Classics and the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University. From these

collections all the pictures have been selected excepting the "Eirene and Plutus," taken by permission from Gardner's *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, and the "Hermes of Praxiteles," the original photograph of which has been furnished me by the publishers. Under my direction Mr. William Leonard Snow made the map of "Physical Greece," and Miss Lida Shaw King made all the other full-page maps. Some of these — especially the "Mycenæan Age" and "Greece at the Dawn of History," which are distinctly original — have required patience and care in the collection and sifting of the material. Miss King and Mr. Snow are pupils of mine whose able assistance I am glad to acknowledge.

# THE MISSION OF THE BOOK

THE ancient Greeks were the most gifted race the world has known, — a people with whose achievements in government and law, in literature, art, and science, every intelligent person ought to be acquainted. Not only is the story of Greece in itself interesting and attractive, but the thoughts and deeds of her great men are treasures preserved in history for the enrichment of our own lives.

This volume is intended as an aid to the study of the subject. While the "Helps" furnished by the closing chapter indicate a method of digesting the material, — a method of training the whole mind rather than the mere memory, — the marginal references are a guide to the use of the Greek authors, from whom chiefly we derive our knowledge of the history, thought, life, and character of this magnificent race. An acquaintance with the works of the historians, orators, poets, and philosophers of Greece, in the original language or even through good translations, is no mean part of a liberal education.

Not only were the Greeks by nature the most gifted of men, but they occupied a country which, more than any other in the world, favored the growth of enterprise, intelligence, imagination, and taste. As it is impossible, without taking the country into account, to appreciate this many-sided development, it has been my aim throughout the

book, by bringing the geography into immediate connection with the history, to show the influence of surroundings on character.

Though the Greeks were constantly at war, we must not lay too much stress on the details of their campaigns and battles. It is far more profitable to learn the character and achievements of the great men, whatever their field of activity, to follow the development of the social and political life, and to enter into the spirit of the civilization. Is it too much to hope that this book may do a good service in directing the attention of the reader to the nobler and more instructive aspects of Greek life?

CAMBRIDGE, December 12, 1898.

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ROYAL TOMBS AT MYCENÆ

# HISTORY OF GREECE

## CHAPTER I

### THE BEGINNINGS OF THE GREEKS—THE PRE-HISTORIC AGE (TO ABOUT 700 B.C.)

THE people from whom the ancient Greeks were descended once lived, with other kindred races, probably in the great steppe which extends across southern Russia into Asia, and is bounded on the south by the Black, the Caspian, and the Aral seas. As these races gradually separated and moved apart in various directions, the ancestors of the Greeks journeyed southward into the peninsula now named Greece. They came in bands, which we call tribes, each under its

Origin of the Greeks. P. 331.

chief; their warriors travelled on foot, dressed in skins and armed with pikes and with bows and arrows, while their women and children rode in two-wheeled ox-carts. They found Greece, their future home, a rugged, mountainous country, with narrow valleys and only a few broad plains. Everywhere were dense forests haunted by lions, wild boars, and wolves. Here and there the invaders halted and built their villages, — mere groups of rude, round huts of brush and clay, with roofs of grass or reeds. In time of peace, the new settlers tended their herds of goats, sheep, swine, and cattle; and many a hard fight they had to protect their flocks from the savage beasts: "Herdsmen were following with their kine, four of them, and nine dogs fleet of foot came up behind. Then two terrible lions among the foremost kine seized a loud-roaring bull, who bellowed mightily as they attacked him, and the dogs and young men sped after him. The lions rent the great bull's hide and were devouring his vitals and his black blood, while the herdsmen in vain urged on their dogs, for these shrank from biting the lions, but stood hard by and barked."

*Il.* xviii, 577 ff.

Life in early Greece.

In the fertile valleys the villagers dug the ground with a sharp stick and raised wheat, barley, flax, and some garden vegetables. But they owned no farms, as they had not yet learned that land was valuable; they could get all they needed by fighting for it, and they had no thought of staying long in one place. Every man went armed to protect his life and property. One village was continually fighting with another, and the people who had settled homes lived in constant fear of attack from fresh invaders. The villagers, therefore, built no good houses, planted no orchards or vineyards, but stood ever ready to gather their scanty wealth into ox-carts and to join their tribe in search of more fertile fields or homes less exposed to the enemy. Thus the Greeks

Thuc. i, 2-8.

PHYSICAL
GREECE
IONIAN SEA
THRACIAN SEA
AEGEAN SEA
PROPONTIS
Strymon R.
Cambunian Mts.
Peneius R.
Thessalian Plain
Pagasæan Gulf
Malian Gulf
Ambracian Gulf
Achelous R.
Mt. Oeta
Parnassus Mt.
Cephissus R.
Copais L.
CITHAERON MT.
Corinthian Gulf
PARNES MT.
Asopus R.
Sinus Gulf
Argolic Gulf
Alpheus R.
PARNON MTS.
Eurotas R.
Messenian Gulf
Laconian Gulf
Hellespont
IDA MT.
MT. OLYMPUS
MT. PINDUS
Hermus R.
TMOLUS MT.
Caÿster R.
Mæander R.
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kept moving about and fighting among themselves for many years, perhaps for centuries. The time during which they lived in tribes and villages in this unsettled manner we may term the Tribal Age.

Eastern and western coasts.

On the west of their country they found a nearly straight coast line, with steep shores making it difficult to reach the water's edge; and, as they looked over the sea, they saw few islands to tempt them from the mainland. But those who came to the eastern coast found harbors everywhere and islands near at hand. They began at once to make small boats and to push off to the islands.

The Phœnicians bring civilization.

But they must have been astonished when they saw for the first time strange black vessels, much larger than their own, entering their bays. These were Phœnician ships from Sidon, an ancient commercial city, and in them came "greedy merchant men, with countless gauds" for trading with the natives. Though in most respects the Greeks were then as barbarous as the North American Indians, they were eager to learn and to imitate the ways of the foreigners. The chieftains along the east coast welcomed Asiatic arts and artisans. From these strangers they gradually learned to make and use bronze tools and weapons, and to build in stone. Contented in these homes, they outgrew their fondness for roving. Skilled workmen from the East built walled palaces for the native chiefs; artists decorated these new dwellings, painted, carved, and frescoed, made vases and polished gems. Those chieftains who were wise enough to receive this civilization gained power as well as wealth by means of it. With their bronze weapons they conquered their uncivilized neighbors, and, in course of time, formed small kingdoms, each centring in a strongly fortified castle.

Earliest kingdoms.

It is interesting to notice where these kingdoms were situated. Greece, before it was inhabited by man, stood far higher above the level of the sea than it does now; but for some cause it sank till it was half-drowned in water. The sea covers the earlier coast plain and washes the base of the mountains; so that there is no continuous strip of farm land along the shores of Greece as there is in the United States; but the mountain streams deposited soil enough to form small but fertile deltas. The earliest kingdoms occupied these rich lands, generally bordering upon a good harbor, and in many a case the king from his castle perched upon some hilltop could look over his whole realm. Just outside the castle walls the leading men of the kingdom grouped their houses in a small city. One of these communities was Tiryns, on a low flat hill about a mile from the Argolic Gulf, the oldest city, so far as we know, in Europe. Its walls were of huge, unshaped stones, built, the myths would make us believe, by a race of giants called Cyclopes. Within these defences was a great palace. It contained a multitude of apartments, including courts and halls for men and women; a bathroom with conduit

GALLERY IN THE WALL OF TIRYNS

Tiryns.

and drains; sleeping rooms, corridors, and porticos. The palace and walls tell a vivid tale of the wealth and luxury of the king, and of his unlimited authority over the lives and labor of his subjects. All this required time; many generations or even centuries may have elapsed between the landing of the first Phœnician sailors on the shores of Greece and the building of the first castle.

It is only recently that Dr. Schliemann has unearthed the foundation of this palace; but an epic poet sang about it, or one like it, twenty-five centuries or more ago. The following is his idealized description of a palace resembling that of Tiryns: — Cf. p. 10.

"Meanwhile Odysseus went to the famous palace of Alcinoüs, and his heart was full of many thoughts as he stood there or ever he had reached the threshold of bronze. For there was a gleam as it were of sun and moon through the high-roofed hall of great-hearted Alcinoüs. Brazen were the walls that ran this way and that from the threshold to the inmost chamber, and round them was a frieze of blue, and golden were the doors that closed in the good house. Silver were the door-posts that were set on the brazen threshold, and silver the lintel thereupon, and the hook of the door was of gold. And on either side stood golden hounds and silver, which Hephæstus[1] wrought with his cunning, to guard the palace of great-hearted Alcinoüs, being free from death and age all their days. And within were seats arrayed against the wall this way and that, from the threshold to the inmost chamber, and thereon were spread light coverings finely woven, the handiwork of women. There the Phæacian chieftains were wont to sit

The palace.

*Od.* vii, 84 ff.

[1] The artisan god.

eating and drinking, for they had continual store. Yea, and there were youths fashioned in gold, standing on firm-set bases, with flaming torches in their hands, giving light through the night to the feasters in the palace. And he had fifty handmaids in the house, and some grind the yellow grain on the millstone, and others weave webs and turn the yarn as they sit, restless as the leaves of the tall poplar tree; and the soft olive oil drops off that linen, so closely is it woven. For as the Phæacian men are skilled beyond all others in driving a swift ship upon the deep, even so are the women the most cunning at the loom, for Athena hath given them notable wisdom in all fair handiwork and cunning wit. And without the courtyard, hard by the door, is a great garden, of four ploughgates, and a hedge runs round on either side. And there grow tall trees blossoming, pear trees and pomegranates, and apple trees with bright fruit, and sweet figs and olives in their bloom. The fruit of these trees never perisheth, neither faileth, winter or summer, enduring through all the year. Evermore the West Wind blowing brings some fruits to birth and ripens others. Pear upon pear waxes old, and apple upon apple, yea, and cluster ripens upon cluster of the grape, and fig upon fig. There, too, hath he a fruitful vineyard planted, whereof the one part is being dried by the heat, a sunny plot on level ground, while other grapes men are gathering, and yet others they are treading in the wine-press. In the foremost row are unripe grapes that cast the blossom, and others there be that are growing black to vintaging. There, too, skirting the furthest line, are all manner of garden beds, planted trimly, that are perpetually fresh, and therein are two fountains of water, whereof one scatters his streams all about the garden, and the other runs over against it beneath

The garden.

THE GATE OF THE LIONS AT MYCENÆ

THE
MYCENEAN AGE
Sites where remains of the Age has been found
Centres of highest civilization
Suggested area of the civilization
IONIAN SEA
AEGEAN SEA
THRACIAN SEA
PROPONTIS
Hellespont
Troy
MT. OLYMPUS
Pagasae
Pagasaean Gulf
Ambracian Gulf
Malian Gulf
Orchomenus
Delphi
Hermus R.
TMOLUS MT.
Cayster R.
Maeander R.
Mycenae
Tiryns
Epidaurus
Amyclae
Messenian Gulf
AMORGUS
THERA
Ialysus
RHODES
CRETE
Cnossus
Dicte
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35
Hormay & Co. N. Y.

the threshold of the courtyard, and issues by the lofty house, and thence did the townsfolk draw water. These were the splendid gifts of the gods in the palace of Alcinoüs."

Mycenæ, "rich in gold," is younger than Tiryns; but because it was better situated, its king in course of time became ruler of all Argolis. Dr. Schliemann and others have unearthed in Mycenæ not only the walls and palace, but also private houses, the homes of lords and servants. From these discoveries it is possible to learn how the people of Mycenæ lived, and even what they wore and ate.[1] But the most remarkable objects which they found were the tombs and their contents. In some of these tombs "lay the bodies of the prehistoric rulers of Mycenæ. In two of them lay three women, their heads adorned with lofty gold diadems, their bodies covered with plates of gold which had been sewn on their dresses. In four graves lay bodies of men, varying in number from one to five, some wearing masks or breastplates, all adorned with gold, not less profusely than the women, and buried with arms and utensils, with vessels of gold and silver, with a wealth of objects of use and luxury sufficient to stock a rich museum at Athens, and fairly astonish those who see it for the first time." Some of the tombs are magnificent stone buildings shaped like beehives, and they contained so much wealth that Dr. Schliemann mistook them for treasure-houses. Indeed one of them was long known as the "Treasury of Atreus." The people of this age believed, no doubt, that the souls of men after death enjoyed all this splendor in their tombs.

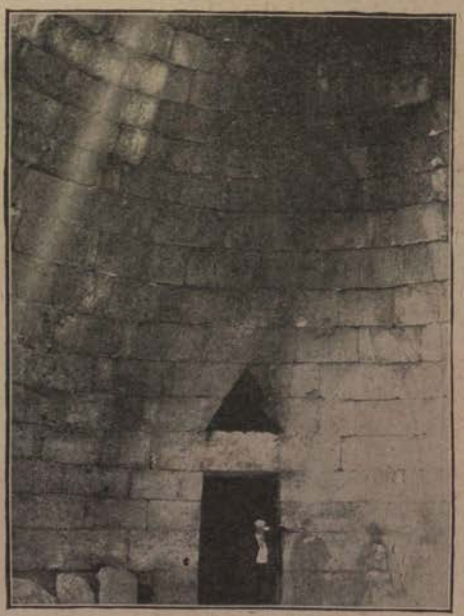
Mycenæ. *Il.* xi, 46. P. Gardner, p. 64.

We call the civilization of this time "Mycenæan," but

[1] For an interesting account of this, Tsountas and Manatt, *The Mycenæan Age*, chs. iv, vi.

Area of the Mycenæan civilization.

there were many other cities like Mycenæ, though less grand. While barbarous tribes were still roaming over the interior, these cities near the coast and on the islands



"TREASURY OF ATREUS" AT MYCENÆ

were gradually developing. Asiatic culture, planted on Greek soil, was preparing the way for our modern life.

Colonization of the Ægean islands and coasts.

The Mycenæan civilization was at its best from about 1500 to 1000 B.C. During this period the Greeks were outgrowing the peninsula, and were settling the islands and east coast of the Ægean Sea. They could pass without danger, without losing sight of land, across its entire breadth. Indeed, from the mountains of southern Eubœa the Greeks could look quite across the sea to the hills of Chios. From Attica they settled the Cyclades near by,

Cf. p. 3.

and then the adjacent coast country of Asia Minor, which was afterwards named Ionia. The people of Attica, of Ionia, and of the islands between belonged therefore to one great race, the Attic-Ionic, just as the inhabitants of the United States and of England form one race, the Anglo-American. In like manner the Dorians took possession of the south Ægean islands and coasts, while the Æolians settled north of the Ionians. These are the three great historic races of the Greeks.

Greece, or Hellas, defined.

We are not to think of these colonists as leaving Greece to settle in foreign lands, but rather as extending the boundaries of their own country. Greece, or Hellas, was the country of the Greeks, or Hellenes,[1] wherever they might be; at the time which we have now reached — 1000 B.C. — the name included, in addition to the peninsula, most of the islands of the Ægean Sea and the larger part of the western coast of Asia Minor.

Ionia.

1000–700 B.C.

Hdt. i, 142.

The colonists had less wealth than the people of the mother country, but they enjoyed greater freedom, and were more vigorous in body and mind. During the next three centuries, while the Mycenæan culture was declining, the colonists in the Ægean were building up a new civilization far higher than that which they had left behind them on the continent. "Of all men whom we know, the Ionians had the good fortune to build their cities in the most favorable position for climate and seasons." Civilizations have been born in the most fertile spots on earth, where the struggle for existence has not been all-absorbing, where men could easily produce food, clothing, and shelter, and have some leisure to think of other things than the mere necessities of life. Thus the earliest civ-

[1] In this book, Greece and Hellas, Greeks and Hellenes, are used synonymously; cf. pp. 40, 103 and n. 2.

ilization of the world was, as Herodotus says, "the gift of the Nile." In like manner Ionia, because of its fertile soil, its delightful climate, and its openness to the sea, threw off Asiatic influence and became the birthplace of the first distinctly European civilization.

Homer and the Epic Age.

We can learn the character and customs of the early Ionians from their minstrels, who travelled about and sang to the kings and nobles. These wandering bards were the makers of the two great epic poems, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The *Iliad*, composed mainly in the tenth and ninth centuries B.C., is for us the oldest piece of European literature. The best modern authorities believe that it was not the work of one poet, but grew up gradually in the following manner. Some Æolian minstrel of Asia Minor began it by composing a tale of considerable length to glorify Achilles, a mythical hero; Ionian minstrels took up the story and enlarged it, bringing into it their own ideas and myths. One by one they introduced into the poem new heroes, with their warlike deeds, so as to be continually furnishing the hearers with something novel

IDEAL STATUE OF HOMER
(Vatican Museum)

and pleasing. "Men always prize that song most which rings newest in the ear." Finally, the poem received its finishing touches from scholars who lived about five centuries after the time of which we are now speaking. The *Odyssey*, composed mainly in the eighth century B.C., had a similar growth. By the name "Homer" we mean any one of the minstrels who helped to make either the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*, and the Epic Age is the time in which these men lived, — about 1000–700 B.C. *Od.* i, 351 f.

The poet shows us every side of Ionic life in the beautiful colors of his own imagination. One of his most delightful scenes is that from the "Shield of Achilles," which represents a group of youths and maidens dancing. "There were youths dancing and maidens of costly wooing, their hands on one another's wrists. Fine linen the maidens had on, and the youths well-woven doublets faintly glistening with oil. Fine wreaths had the maidens, and the youths daggers of gold hanging from silver baldrics. And now would they run round with deft feet exceeding lightly, as when a potter sitting by his wheel that fitteth between his hands maketh trial of it whether it run; and anon they would run in lines to meet each other. And a great company stood round the lovely dance in joy; and among them a divine minstrel was making music on his lyre, and through the midst of them, as he began his strain, two tumblers whirled." Youths and maidens. *Il.* xviii, 593 ff.

This scene shows us one of the most refined and attractive sides of life in that distant age. Family and kin were sacred and under the care of "household" Zeus, whose altar was the hearth. Parent and child, brothers and cousins, united closely by the twofold bond of blood and religion, stood by each other in danger, for the state had not yet begun to protect the lives of the citizens. Guests The family.

were also under the care of Zeus, and were treated as brothers. The householder kindly entertained the stranger with food, lodging, and words of cheer; then bestowing a gift in token of friendship, sped him rejoicing on his way. Family life was beautiful, and women, within the home, were the equals of men. "There is nothing mightier and nobler," says Homer, "than when man and wife are of one heart and mind in a house, a grief to their foes, and to their friends great joy, but their own hearts know it best." Yet it must by no means be supposed that this was a golden age of happiness. Rather, the time was barbarous and cruel; and the minstrel had sad tales to tell of war, captivity, and orphanage.

*Od.* vi, 182 ff.

Country life, p. 2.

Men still depended on their herds for a great part of their living. Cattle were their principal wealth, and served, in the absence of coined money, as a standard of value in barter. But they began to take more interest in farming and to plant orchards and vineyards. The following is a picture of one of their modest country estates. "Quickly they came to the rich and well-ordered farmland of Laërtes, which he had won for himself of old, as the prize of great toil in war. There was his house, and all about it ran the huts wherein the thralls were wont to eat and sleep, bondsmen who worked his will. And in the house was an old Sicilian woman who diligently cared for the old man, in the upland, far from the city." But many a noble owned hundreds of cattle and large tracts of land. While slaves and hired men tended these estates, the lord lived in the city with his fellows, and shared in its religious, social, and political life.

*Od.* xxiv, 204 ff.

The industries.

There were as yet few skilled workmen among the Greeks. King Odysseus made his own house and bedstead; Queen "Helen of Argos sat among her serving-

*Il.* vi, 323.

women and appointed brave handiwork for her handmaidens." Thus the Greeks made at home nearly everything they needed for house and field. Everybody worked: the goddess Athena made her own clothes; the princess Nausicaa did the family washing; and serving-women ground the meal. Rich wares were brought to them from the Orient or from the interior of Asia Minor. Skilled female slaves from the same places began among the Greeks a native industry in dyeing, weaving, and embroidering. There were smiths and curriers who busied themselves in making armor and weapons; the potter sitting at his wheel; the leech who cured a wound by sucking out the blood, and cunningly spreading thereon soothing drugs, or maybe staying the blood with a song of healing; the seer teaching the will of the gods or conducting a voyage by means of the prophetic art which Apollo gave him; and the blind old minstrel delighting people with his song and lyre. All these the Greeks of the time called craftsmen, and held in high esteem. But the unskilled worker for wages, — the man without home, master, or patron, — led a miserable life.

The government. The nobles compelled most of the common people to live in the country, as they wanted the city for their own use. They called themselves the brave, the mighty, and the best, in contrast with the base and cowardly men of the lower class; and as they believed themselves to be the near descendants of the gods, they thought they had a right to all the wealth and political authority in the state.

The council. The chiefs of tribes came together in a council and elected one of their number king. If the man whom they appointed proved to be a wise and vigorous ruler, he might hand down his royal authority to his son; otherwise, when he died or grew too old to lead in war, the council, pass-

ing by his family, filled the office again from their own number.

The king. The king was general, priest, and judge. He led the army, prayed to the gods for the city's safety, and settled cases of private law. He did not try, however, to keep the peace or prevent murder, but allowed the families of his state to fight each other as much as they pleased. Though the king claimed to rule by divine right, and looked back to some god as his great-grandfather, he was in reality hampered on all sides by the council. The great nobles who composed it helped him in his religious services, advised him in war, filled all special offices of toil, danger, or honor, and decided suits.

A trial scene. The following scene from the Shield of Achilles represents a trial before the council. "The folk were gathered in the assembly place; for there a strife was arisen, two men contending about the blood price of a man slain; the one avowed that he had paid all, expounding to the people, but the other denied that he had received aught; and each was fain to gain his point on the word of his witness. And the folk were cheering both, as they took part on either side. And heralds kept order among the folk, while the elders (councillors) on polished stones were *Il.* xviii, 497 ff. sitting in the sacred circle, and holding in their hands staves from the loud-voiced heralds. Then before the people they rose up and gave judgment in turn. And in the midst lay two talents[1] of gold, to be given to him who should plead among them most righteously." The slayer had agreed, according to custom, to pay a kinsman of the slain a sum of money to satisfy him for the loss; but the latter, alleging that he had not received payment, sued the offender before the council. Such an assembly

[1] A talent was at this time a small weight.

of the people, gathered to hear the deliberation of the king and council, was a "town-meeting," the same institution which we find, somewhat modified, in the United States. There was no voting; the people merely shouted assent or showed disapproval by silence. The assembly.

The ideas of popular sovereignty and majority rule were totally unknown to the age. The king and council, however, laid their more important plans before the assembly and were influenced to some extent by its opinion. But the council could carry on the government without either the king or the assembly, and it began to do so in the Ionian states about the middle of the eighth century B.C. It did not abolish these institutions, but it degraded the office of king to a mere priesthood, and rarely called the assembly together. In this manner the government ceased to be a monarchy, or rule of one, and became an aristocracy, or rule of "the best." The latter form of government is also called an oligarchy, or rule of the few.

The religion of the Greeks had changed radically since their migration from the North. At first they worshipped the powers of nature. In their belief every object in the world had a soul capable of exercising some influence on mankind for good or evil. Spirits of the greater or more conspicuous objects, as sun, moon, rivers, and mountains, they were inclined to propitiate as deities with prayers and sacrifices. They thought of a few only of these deities as possessing human form and human character. Such a god was supposed to live in his appropriate object as a man lives in a house. But a great change came about through the influence of the epic poets, who spread the belief that all deities were like men, that they differed from human beings only in their greater stature and strength and in their immortality. They sometimes even Religion.

represented a god as wounded by a man in battle. From the poet's point of view, heaven was very near to earth. "Yea, and the gods in the likeness of strangers from far countries put on all manner of shapes, and wander through the cities, beholding the violence and the righteousness of men." Since the gods were only magnified men, they had both good and evil qualities, and the influences of religion were both moral and immoral. "Zeus watches over all men and punishes the transgressor." "The gods love not froward deeds, but reverence justice and the righteous acts of men." The religion of the time commanded forgiveness of injury, kindliness, and truth. With equal readiness, however, the gods taught men to lie and steal and kill. But it is encouraging to notice that throughout the age the Greeks were making moral progress.

*Od.* xvii, 485 ff.

*Od.* xiii, 213 f.

*Od.* xiv, 83 ff.

Hades and Elysium.

To all the Greeks, and especially to the Ionians, life was full of beauty and joy, while the very thought of death was hideous. The realm of Hades was cold, dark, and lifeless. The spirit of the dead, set free by burning the body, flitted past the streams of Oceanus, past the gates of the sun and the land of dreams, to the mead of Asphodel, where dwell the souls, the phantoms of men outworn. There in the realm of Hades, the spirit lived like a shadow or dream. None were happy in that under-world, and those guilty of great sin on earth suffered various torments. Only a few heroes especially favored of the gods were supposed by Homer to have gone, without dying, to the Elysian plain, "at the end of the world, where life is easiest for men. No snow is there, nor yet great storm, nor any rain; but always ocean sendeth forth the breeze of the shrill West to blow cool on men." Such was the influence of Homer on the religious beliefs of the Greeks that his conception of the forms of the gods

*Od.* xxiv, 10 ff.

*Od.* iv, 563 ff.

and of the future life retained its hold on their mind till the introduction of Christianity. The poems of Homer were their Bible. Hdt. ii, 53.

In the period which we have here reviewed, the Greeks entered their historic home, and began their career as a distinct race. When they first came to Greece, they were all barbarous; but in course of time those who settled on the coasts and islands, stimulated by Asia, became civilized; they began to live in cities, to enjoy literature, art, and other comforts and refinements of life. From these beginnings of civilization we shall, in the following chapters, trace the development of Greece till, with the lapse of centuries, she became the intellectual mistress of the world. Summary.

### Sources

The period covered by this chapter is prehistoric: the alphabet, though not wholly unknown, was not used for recording events, or even for literary purposes; the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, for instance, were handed down orally from generation to generation. The historian, accordingly, who wishes to reconstruct the life of this time must rely on other material than contemporary documents and written literature. A valuable source for the Tribal Age is Thucydides i, 2–8. We can speak with certainty of the earliest condition of Greece, because parts of the country remained unchanged down to the time of Thucydides, and are described by him. For the races of his day which had not yet developed beyond the tribal condition, study in Thucydides, through the index, the *Locrians*, the *Ætolians*, and the *Acarnanians*. For the Mycenæan Age, the sources are chiefly the materials recently excavated on the sites of the Mycenæan cities. These materials are described in the modern authorities mentioned below. The sources for the Epic Age are the two epic poems, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, composed by the poets of that time. Reading.

### Modern Authorities

The most reliable authority covering the entire period is **Holm,** *History of Greece,* I, chs. i, ii, viii, xii–xiv.

(1) The Tribal Age: **Holm, I,** ch. i; Fowler, *The City-State of the Greeks and Romans,* ch. ii.

(2) The Mycenæan Age: Holm, I, ch. viii; **Tsountas and Manatt**, *The Mycenæan Age*, the best treatment of the subject; P. Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History*, also excellent; Frazer, *Pausanias' Description of Greece*, see *Mycenæ, Tiryns*, etc., in the index; Schliemann's works, *Mycenæ* (1878), *Troja* (1884), and *Tiryns* (1885), are a storehouse of facts, but many of his theories have proved untenable; Mahaffy, *Survey of Greek Civilization*, pp. 22–40; Tarbell, *History of Greek Art*, ch. ii; Diehl, *Excursions in Greece*.

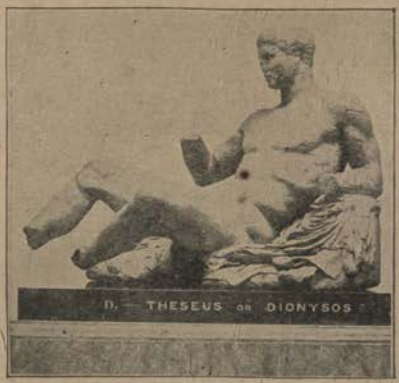
(3) The Epic Age: Oman, *History of Greece*, ch. iii, antiquated; **Holm**, I, chs. xiii, xiv, excellent; Abbott, *History of Greece*, I, ch. v; Curtius, *History of Greece*, bk. I, ch. iv (latter part); Timayenis, *History*

VESSELS AND IDOLS FROM MYCENÆ

*of Greece*, pt. II, ch. v; also, *Greece in the Times of Homer;* **Grote**, *History of Greece*, II, chs. xx, xxi, thorough treatment; Allcroft and Masom, *Early Grecian History*, ch. iv; Fowler, ch. iii; Jebb, *Introduction to Homer;* Warr, *The Greek Epic*; Gladstone, *Homer* (primer); Mahaffy, *Survey of Greek Civilization*, ch. ii; *Social Life in Greece*, chs. ii, iii, interesting and suggestive books; *History of Greek Literature*, I, chs. iii–v; Lang, *Homer and the Epic*, ch. i, from the point of view of a "literary skirmisher"; Murray, *History of Ancient Greek Literature*, ch. i; Jebb, *Greek Literature* (primer), ch. ii; Church, *Stories from Homer;* Engelmann-Anderson, *Pictorial Atlas to Homer's Iliad and Odyssey*.

(4) Colonization of the Ægean islands and of Asia Minor: Oman, ch. vi; Holm, I, ch. xii; Abbott, I, ch. iv; Curtius, bk. I, ch. iv; Grote, III, chs. xiii-xv; Timayenis, pt. II, ch. v; Allcroft and Masom, ch. vi.

(5) Geography of Greece: Oman, ch. i; Allcroft and Masom, ch. i; Holm, ch. ii, excellent, though brief; **Curtius**, ch. i, best treatment of the subject, though it contains some antiquated theories as to the relation of the Greeks to the Italians, and the contrast between the Ionians and the Dorians; Abbott, I, ch. i.




"THESEUS"

(From the east pediment of the Parthenon.)

## CHAPTER II

### THE BEGINNINGS OF STATES AND OF LEAGUES (TO ABOUT 700 B.C.). COLONIAL EXPANSION (750–550 B.C.)

The founding of a city.

*Od.* vi, 3 ff.

"THE Phæacians[1] of old dwelt in spacious Hypereia; near the Cyclopes they dwelt, men exceeding proud, who harried them continually, being mightier than they. Thence the godlike Nausithoüs made them depart, and he carried them away, and planted them in Scheria, far off from men who live by bread. And he drew a wall around the town, and builded houses, and made temples for the gods, and meted out the fields. Howbeit when he had been stricken by fate, and had gone down to the house of Hades, Alcinoüs, his son, reigned with wisdom granted by the gods."

Homer, who relates this myth, might have told us much

[1] The poet created this mythical race after the pattern of the Ionians, among whom he lived; p. 10.

more about the founding of a city, had he wished to do so. Nausithoüs grouped kindred families into a brotherhood (phratry); several of these brotherhoods into a tribe, and three or four tribes into a city. This division of the city served political, military, and religious purposes. The space within his walls was so small and contained so few people that we should call it a village, and the whole of his kingdom occupied perhaps no more than the valley of some brook. The term "city," the Greek word *polis*, applied not merely to the walled town, but included the entire kingdom. The Greek state was wholly under the city organization and within the city limits; hence we call it a city-state to distinguish it from the territorial states of modern times. All the citizens of a Greek state regarded each other as near kinsmen, the children of a common ancestor. Thus in every Ionian city they claimed descent from Ion through his four sons, the fathers of the four tribes to which they all belonged. Though these remote ancestors were mythical, the Greeks looked upon them as real persons. Each state had its own religion, a part of which was the worship of the common ancestor. The Ionian cities, for instance, worshipped Apollo, the divine father of Ion; and the people of each town considered it impious to admit strangers to their brotherhoods and to their religious festivals, for their god loved only his fellow-citizens, and looked upon all others as enemies.

The organization and character of a city.

P. 9 ff.

There were hundreds of these little city-states in Greece in Homer's time, perhaps earlier. It was very difficult for them to unite in larger states because they were so exclusive in religion and because they were separated from each other by high mountain ranges. But neighboring communities sometimes found it convenient to join to-

Religious leagues.

gether for commerce and for social intercourse. In such a case, they must adopt a common worship and persuade themselves that they were all of one kin, for men had not yet learned to act together on any other grounds than these. The Pan-Ionian League may serve as an illustration. Twelve cities of Ionia formed this union for the worship of Poseidon, god of the sea, and held their fair and festival at his shrine on the promontory of Mycale. Their common descent from Ion, though a mere fiction, paved the way to this association. But the union did not prevent the cities from fighting among themselves, nor did it even lead them to a close defensive alliance against common enemies. A league of this kind, which was mainly for religious, social, and commercial purposes, was called by the Greeks an amphictyony, — a "union of neighbors."

The Delian League.

P. 9.

A larger religious league grew up about the shrine of Apollo on the island of Delos in the Ægean Sea, and in the course of time came to include all of the Attic-Ionic race. Every community of the league took part in the Delian fair and festival held in the springtime, in the "Holy Month," when, men believed, Apollo revealed himself to his worshippers. "There in thy honor, Apollo, the long-robed Ionians assemble with their children and their gracious dames. So often as they hold thy festival, they celebrate thee, for thy joy, with boxing and dancing and song. A man would say that they were strangers to death and to old age evermore, who should come on the Ionians thus gathered; for he should see the goodliness of all the people, and should rejoice in his soul, beholding the men and the fairly cinctured women, and their swift ships, and their great wealth; and besides, that wonder of which the fame shall not perish, the maidens of Delos,

handmaidens of Apollo the far-darter. First they hymn Apollo, then Leto and Artemis delighting in arrows; and then they sing the praise of heroes of yore and of women, and throw their spell over the tribes of men." It is easy to see how festivals like this promoted commerce, art, and kindly feeling. There were similar leagues among the Dorians and Æolians; and indeed few, if any, Greek cities remained apart from such associations.

*Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, Jebb, p. 48.

ARTEMIS

(Museum of the Louvre. This statue belongs to the Hellenistic Age of Art, which begins with the death of Alexander the Great.)

Political leagues.

But some religious leagues became political as well. This happened when one of the cities grew strong enough to compel the others to acknowledge her as leader in war. The Greeks called such a leadership an hegemony. We may take Bœotia as an example of this class of unions. "Bœotia is an inland territory, complete and secluded in itself, where the superabundant water stagnates in the depths of the valleys — a land of damp fogs and luxurious vegetation on a rich soil." The country was not so thoroughly cut up into narrow valleys as most other parts of

Bœotia.

Curtius, i, p. 17.

Greece, and this made it easier for the communities to unite. Among the cities of Bœotia which joined in a league for the worship of Athena were Orchomenus,
*Il.* ix, 381. "where the treasure-houses are stored fullest," a city as old as the Mycenæan age, and Thebes "of the seven gates," which Amphion and his twin brother Zethus are said in
*Od.* xi, 263 f. myth to have founded, "and made of it a fenced city, for they might not dwell in spacious Thebes unfenced for all their valiancy." The huge stones moved into their places in the wall, keeping time with the music of Amphion's lyre. Later myth made Cadmus the founder. As he came from Phœnicia in search of his sister Europa whom Zeus had stolen away, he was directed to the site of Thebes by a cow; and when he had laid out the boundaries of the city, by the instruction of Apollo, he sowed the ground with dragon's teeth. From these sprang up the men who were to be founders of the aristocratic families of the new city. The poets invented such myths, and all accepted them as history. Bœotia means "cattle country," and the story of the cow was devised to explain the name.

Leadership of Thebes. These two cities were the greatest in Bœotia; and each tried to make herself more powerful by conquering her neighbors. In the course of time Thebes outstripped Orchomenus in the race for dominion, and became the head of the league. The older city, even after it had proved inferior in strength, remained a rival for the leadership; while Thebes tried continually, but in vain, to subject the other allied cities to herself. The whole history of Bœotia turns on this strife.

Argolis. The history of Argolis, which also had a league of cities, was somewhat like that of Bœotia. First Tiryns was
P. 4 ff. leader, then Mycenæ, and finally "wheat-bearing" Argos,

which, toward the close of the epic age, had become the most powerful state in Greece. Its king, Pheidon, who lived about this time, tried to make his city the head of all Peloponnese. He introduced a system of weights and measures into his country, made many improvements, and had in all respects a brilliant reign; but when at last he was killed in battle, his city began to decline, and lost control of some of the towns even of her own country.

When we come to Attica we find a political advance beyond Bœotia and Argolis. But first let us learn what the Athenians thought of the beginning of their state. Attica.

CECROPS AND DAUGHTER
(From the west pediment of the Parthenon.)

Their first king was Cecrops, a serpent-tailed man, who, not born of parents, had simply sprung from the soil. He ruled the country in the fertile valley of the Cephisus, with his dwelling on the Acropolis, and called his city and kingdom Cecropia, after his own name. In his reign the gods divided among themselves the cities of the earth, each selecting the one in which he wished for the future to receive special honor. Poseidon, who wanted Cecropia, came to the Acropolis, and, striking it with his trident Myth of Cecrops.

in a certain spot, caused a spring of salt water to bubble up. In this way he hoped to make the city his own. But Athena then planted an olive tree by the spring and thus laid claim to the city for herself. When strife arose thereupon between the two deities for the possession of the place, Zeus appointed the twelve gods jurors to try the case, and they, on the testimony of Cecrops, who saw Athena plant the tree, assigned the city to her. She named it Athens and its people Athenians after herself, and became its protecting goddess, while all the Athenians henceforth regarded themselves as her chosen fellow-citizens. Up to this time the people of Attica had lived in unwalled villages, but Cecrops gathered them into twelve cities for protection against pirates and hostile neighbors; and though these little states had their own kings, Cecrops was lord of them all.

Myth of Theseus.

Some years afterward Theseus, a foreigner, became king of Athens. He was a valiant hero, whose adventures with savage beasts and monsters Plutarch relates in his *Life of Theseus*. "He, being a powerful as well as a wise ruler, among various improvements, dissolved the councils and separate governments, and united all the inhabitants of Attica into the present city, establishing one council and town-hall. They continued to live on their own lands, but he compelled them to resort to Athens as the seat of government, and henceforth they were all inscribed on the roll of her citizens. A great city thus arose which was handed down by Theseus to his descendants."

Thuc. ii, 15.

Attica becomes a state.

Though it is not likely that any king of Attica was named Cecrops or Theseus, yet there is some truth in these stories. The Acropolis of Athens was fitted by nature to be the stronghold of Attica, to which the people all looked for protection in time of danger. Athena from her

throne on the rock ruled her country, not so much by military strength as by the moral force of law; and so the kings who lived on the Acropolis, partly by fighting, but in the main by persuasion, united the petty kingdoms of Attica in one large state. All the Atticans in the course of time became Athenians, and the whole country was taken into the limits and into the organization of Athens. Thebes and Argos did not accomplish so much for the countries over which they ruled, for neither did the Bœotians become Thebans, nor did the people of Argolis become Argives. Cf. p. 21.

Character of Attica.

Attica is for the most part a rugged country, whose thin soil, fit only for grazing, compelled her people to make the best of the little they had. But the air of the country is remarkably clear and the landscapes are beautiful, tempting the imagination. All the Greeks indeed were near the sea, but Attica was especially favored by a long coast line which invited to commerce. These surroundings helped to make the Athenians enterprising and intelligent, to refine their tastes, and awaken in them a love for the beautiful. Athens, though slow in taking her place among the states of Greece, became in the end the foremost city of the world in civilization.

Sparta, *Od.* iv. 1.

Sparta, or Lacedæmon, "low-lying among the caverned hills," became the head of a larger state than Athens, but of a different kind. The story of her beginning, too, is a myth. Heracles, son of Zeus, was a mightier and more famous hero even than Theseus, and was heir to the throne of Argos, a city which claimed the right to rule all Peloponnese. But Hera, through jealousy of her husband, Zeus, kept the hero from his inheritance, and placed him in bondage to his cowardly cousin, Eurystheus, whom she by trickery made king of Argos. Eurystheus forced him

Myth of Heracles and of the Dorian invasion.

to spend his life in fighting with monsters and in doing other hard tasks, and would not cease troubling his sons even after their father's death. But some of the Heracleidæ, or descendants of Heracles, became rulers of the Dorians, and led them in an invasion of Peloponnese. These Dorians, according to myth, lived for a time in Thessaly, and came thence into the little mountainous country of Doris in central Greece. There the Heracleidæ became their chiefs, and leading them thence into Peloponnese, conquered and settled Argolis, Laconia, and Messenia. In this way these leaders regained what their ancestor, Heracles, had lost. This myth probably grew up as follows. The early poets and historians noticed that Homer did not mention Dorians in Peloponnese, and concluded therefore that they must have come in after Homer's time; and as they wished also to explain how Argolis, Laconia, and Messenia came to be ruled by Heracleid kings, they found it easy to imagine them the leaders of the Dorians on their supposed invasion. The truth seems to be that the Dorians inhabited these three countries from the earliest times, but were not so named till after Homer.

Character of Lacedæmon.

The contrast between Athens and Sparta rests on the difference between a hill and a plain. The valley of the Eurotas, in which Sparta lies, is one of the most fertile in Greece, and the farmers who occupied it became very wealthy. But they had to fight hard to protect their property from the men of the high mountains on both sides, and this led them to form a strong army. Fortunately, too, they invented, or at least were the first of the Greeks to use, bronze armor, which nearly covered them from head to foot, and which made it possible for them to conquer, and hold in subjection, the mountaineers. The farm-

ers then left their work, and, gathering into the city of Sparta, which they kept for themselves alone, passed all their time in military drill, while they forced the conquered to till their fields for them. The city of Sparta thus united all Laconia into one strong state, called Lacedæmon, which it held together by military force. Let us note the difference between Attica and Laconia: in the former the country had as many rights as the city, and was in fact taken into the city organization; in the latter the country remained subject to the city. All Atticans became Athenians, but the country people of Laconia were simply Lacedæmonians, while the inhabitants of the governing city had the additional name of Spartans.

Political condition of Greece, 700 B.C.

About the year 700 B.C., Argos was still the leading state in Peloponnese, though Lacedæmon was rapidly growing in power. Corinth, near the Isthmus, was soon to become influential through her navy, while Sicyon, another commercial city farther west, acknowledged the Argive king as her lord. In central Greece, Thebes and Athens governed each a large country, but lack of unity made them both weak in war. Athens, indeed, was hardly a match at this time for little Megara on the Isthmus. West of Bœotia, Delphi, the seat of Apollo's chief shrine, was the centre of a religious league, but had as yet no political influence. The interior and western parts of continental Greece were still occupied by barbarous races. In Thessaly four large tribes joined in a union, which soon became a great power, and interfered in the affairs of central Greece. This was the political condition of the Greek peninsula; on the islands and in Asia Minor, where civilization was highest, there were religious leagues but no large states.

Thus far we have been studying the Greeks in their

Colonization, 750–550 B.C.

mother country on the continent, and in their earliest colonies on the islands and east coast of the Ægean Sea. But as early as 750 B.C. they began to send out new colonies in various directions. First we shall consider those which were planted in Italy and Sicily.

Italy and Sicily.

Italy is farther than Asia Minor from continental Greece, and the Ionian Sea is not, like the Ægean, filled with islands; yet the Greeks from the Epeirot coast could look in clear weather across the narrowest part of the sea to the Italian shore. First the explorers went forth; "and we came," says one of these in the *Odyssey*, "to the land of the Cyclopes, a froward and lawless folk, who, trusting to the deathless gods, plant not aught with their hands, neither plough: but, behold, all these things spring for them in plenty, unsown and untilled, wheat, and barley, and vines, which bear great clusters of the juicy grape, and the rain of Zeus gives them increase. These have neither gatherings for council nor oracles of law, but they dwell in hollow caves on the crests of high hills, and each one utters the law to his children and his wives, and they reck not one of another.

The story of an explorer in the West.

*Od.* ix. 106 ff.

"Now there is a waste isle stretching without the harbor of the land of the Cyclopes, neither nigh at hand nor yet afar off, a woodland isle, wherein are wild goats unnumbered, for no path of men scares them, nor do hunters resort thither who suffer hardships in the wood, as they range the mountain crests. Moreover, it is possessed neither by flocks nor by ploughed lands, but the soil lies unsown evermore and untilled, desolate of men, and feeds the bleating goats. For the Cyclopes have by them no ships with vermilion cheek, nor yet are there shipwrights in this land, who might fashion decked barques, by means of which . . . they might have made of their isle a goodly

settlement. Yea, it is in no wise a sorry land, but would bear all things in their season; for therein are soft water-meadows by the shores of the gray salt sea, and there the vines know no decay, and the land is level to plough; thence might they reap a crop exceeding deep in due season, for verily there is fatness beneath the soil. Also there is a fair haven, where is no need of moorings, either to cast anchor or to fasten hawsers, but men may run the ship on the beach, and tarry until such time as the sailors are minded to be gone, and favorable breezes blow. Now at the head of the harbor is a well of bright water issuing from a cave, and round it are poplars growing. Thither we sailed, and some god guided us through the night, for it was dark and there was nō light to see, a mist lying deep about the ships, nor did the moon show her light from heaven, but was shut in with clouds. No man then beheld that island, neither saw we the long waves rolling to the beach, till we had run our decked ships ashore. And when our ships were beached, we took down all their sails, and ourselves, too, stepped forth upon the strand of the sea, and there we fell into sound sleep and waited for the bright Dawn.

"So soon as early Dawn shone forth, the rosy-fingered, in wonder at the island we roamed over the length thereof; and the Nymphs, the daughters of Zeus, lord of the ægis, started the wild goats of the hills, that my company might have wherewith to sup. Anon we took to us our curved bows from out the ships, and long spears, and, arrayed in three bands, we began shooting at the goats; and the god soon gave us game in plenty."

Such tales explorers told on their return from Sicily and Italy; and thousands who heard them were eager to go as colonists to the newly discovered country. The Achæans, Achæan colonies.

who lived on the coast of northern Peloponnese, a Dorian race related to the Argives, were among the first Greeks to settle Italy. Their earliest colonies in the instep of the peninsula became the nucleus of many prosperous settlements. Among these were Sybaris, for two centuries the wealthiest and most luxurious Greek city in Italy, and Croton, famous for its physicians and athletes.

Locrian colonies.

Then the Locrians from central Greece, across the Corinthian Gulf from Achæa, occupied the section of Italy south of the Achæan domain. Their chief colony was Locri, famous for its great lawgiver, Zaleucus. He pretended to receive laws from Athena in dreams, and the city requested him to write them out for public use.

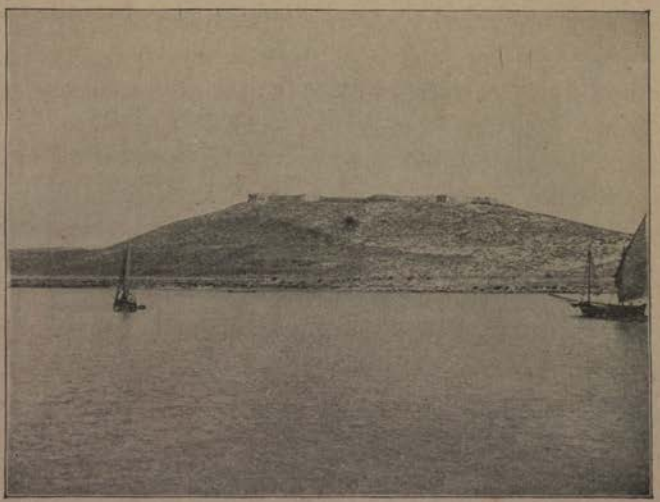
Zaleucus, 660 B.C.

He accordingly drew up a code of laws which he claimed to be divine, but which were probably little different from the Locrian customs already existing. Early law is severe, and the code of Zaleucus was noted for its harshness: "an eye for an eye" expresses its character. Cases arising under his laws were tried before the chief magistrate of Locri, from whom an appeal was allowed to the assembly of the "Thousand." Magistrate and appellant appeared before this assembly each with his neck in a noose, and the one who failed to sustain his cause was executed on the spot. And as the proposer of a new law must likewise wear the noose, Locri retained its old laws and primitive manners unchanged for several centuries. The code of Zaleucus was, so far as we know, the earliest body of written laws among the Europeans; it was more than two centuries earlier than the Roman code.

Commercial cities begin to colonize.

The Achæans and Locrians in the mother country had as yet neither cities nor commerce, but lived in villages in the old-fashioned way, and passed their time in farming and in tending their herds. So, too, their colonists in

Italy, though they founded cities, still clung in the main to the occupations of their fathers, and paid little attention to traffic. But we hear of commercial cities sending out colonies with a view to extending their trade. The



CHALCIS

first to do so was Chalcis, an Ionian city of Eubœa. Its situation was favorable for manufacturing, as there were copper and iron mines in the neighboring mountains and in the strait near by abounded the species of fish which yielded the purple for dyeing. The merchants of this city shipped these products to the parts of Greece where they were needed, and desired in addition to found trading stations among foreigners in distant lands. To carry out this idea, their city planted many settlements on the coasts of Italy and Sicily, some of which became great centres of traffic. One of the most important in Italy was Cumæ, near the Bay of Naples, a colony which we may

Chalcis and Cumæ.

style Rome's first schoolmistress, as she taught the Romans the alphabet and other rudiments of culture.

Sparta and Tarentum.

About 700 B.C.

Although the Spartans, who were the chief Dorian community of continental Greece, were noted for their frugal living, their old-fashioned habits, and their lack of enterprise, they founded one early settlement in Italy, at Tarentum, on the best harbor of the east coast. Because of its situation, this colony became renowned for commerce, wealth, and refinement. No two Greek cities could be more unlike than Sparta and Tarentum. From this fact we may infer that the character of a community depended more upon its situation than upon the race to which it belonged. Most of the Dorians in old Greece had fewer opportunities than the Ionians for commerce and industry, and so were mainly agricultural; but wherever they enjoyed the same advantages of situation, — and this was especially the case with the western colonies, — they showed equal capacity for improvement.

Corinth.

In trade and in colonization, Dorian Corinth followed for a time in the path marked out by Chalcis, but became in the end a greater city because her situation was more favorable. Her lofty citadel commanded the Isthmus, and by means of her three harbors, two on the Saronic Gulf and one on the Corinthian, she could trade equally well with the East and with the West. She excelled in dyeing and weaving, in working metals, and in making fine terra-cotta wares. She was also among the first cities to build triremes,— long vessels with three banks of oars, the battleships of classic history,— and with her navy she tried to put an end to piracy, once an honorable occupation, but now fallen into disgrace.

Syracuse.

Corinth's most famous colony was Syracuse, on the east coast of Sicily in Ortygia, possibly the isle which Homer

describes in the passage quoted above. In time it outgrew the island, and spread over the adjoining mainland till it became the largest city in Greece, while its "Great Harbor" could shelter the navies of the world. "Great city of Syracuse, precinct of warrior Ares, of iron-armed men and steeds, the nursing place divine," was at once the Athens and Sparta of the West, as renowned for wealth and culture as for strength in war. Pind. *Pyth.* ii.

Next to Syracuse in importance among the Dorian colonies of Sicily was Acragas, the Latin Agrigentum. Its founders, "after long toils bravely borne, took by a river's side a sacred dwelling-place, and became the eye of Sicily, and a life of good luck clave to them, bringing them wealth and honor to crown their inborn worth." They built their city on a hill two miles from the coast, and adorned it with temples, colonnades, and beautiful dwellings, while all about it they planted vineyards and olive orchards. Acragas. Pind. *Olymp.* ii.

Sicily, because of its wonderful fertility, soon excelled the mother country in wealth. Its cities were mostly on the coast, and for this reason Pindar calls them a "gorgeous crown of citadels," which nearly surrounded "teeming Sicily . . . best land in the fruitful earth." The Greeks were prevented from completing the circuit of colonies by Phœnicians from Carthage, who occupied the west end of the island. The Ionians were for the most part in the north of the island, and the Dorians in the south. The latter had, on the whole, the better situation, and so were the more prosperous. This is another illustration of the truth that, among the Greeks, not race so much as surroundings made character. *Nem.* i.

The colonization of the West began as early as 750 B.C. and continued a century or more. The territory occupied by the Greeks in Italy is called Magna Græcia, while the Magna Græcia and Western Greece.

term "Western Greece" includes their settlements in both Italy and Sicily. Western Greece was related to the mother country somewhat as America now is to Europe. It remained politically distinct, but always kept in the closest commercial and intellectual contact. When, too, the Ionians of Asia Minor ceased to produce literature, art, and useful ideas and inventions, the Western Greeks, as the heirs of their genius, continued the work of building European civilization.

Cf. p. 9 ff.

Chalcidice.

About 750 B.C.

Chalcis was the first city to send colonies northward as well as westward. On the northwest coast of the Ægean, colonists found a broad peninsula with three arms reaching far into the sea. It is so rugged and has so long a coast line that the Greeks who went there to live found it very homelike. Men swarmed to that region to work the copper, silver, and gold mines, and to cut the timber for shipbuilding; and as most of them came from Chalcis, they named their new home Chalcidice. Corinth followed Chalcis in this direction, also, and founded Potidæa, which became the chief commercial city in that country.

Ionians.

Meantime the Ionians, who were the earliest mariners of Greece, began to found colonies; the city which led them in this enterprise was Miletus. It had an excellent harbor, and its situation at the mouth of the Mæander enabled it to trade with wealthy Lydia in the interior.

Colonies on the Hellespont and on the Black Sea.

Now while some of the Greeks were working the mines of Chalcidice, others were sailing into the Hellespont to fish and to plant settlements along its shores. Foremost among these were the Milesians, who founded more colonies there than any of the other Greeks. They were the first, also, to push on through the strait of Bosporus and to explore and settle the coasts of the Black Sea. This sea, so unlike the Ægean, appeared strange to the Greeks,

with its waters unbroken by islands, its coasts indented by few bays, and the comparatively severe climate of its northern shore; yet the Milesians superstitiously tried to change its nature and to make it Hellenic by calling it the Euxine, the "Hospitable Sea." Its southern coast yielded silver, copper, iron, and timber; its northern coast, cattle and grain; the sea itself, fish. The mission of the country about the Black Sea was to supply the populous districts of the Ægean with raw products; it had no share in the intellectual and artistic development of Greece.

Megara and Byzantium

One of the most important of the colonizing cities of Greece was Megara, near the Isthmus of Corinth. The little country belonging to it was for the most part fit only for pasturing sheep, and the Megarians supported themselves by making coarse woollens and heavy works in pottery for exportation. With a harbor on each side of the Isthmus, they seemed unusually well equipped for commerce; and their city might have become a great centre of trade, had it not been for the rise of Corinth on one side and of Athens on the other. Thus cooped up between two powerful neighbors, Megara soon began to feel herself cramped both in her commerce and in her political freedom. But though of little account among the powers of Greece, she was great in her colonies, the most celebrated of which was Byzantium at the entrance to the Bosporus. It remained a great commercial city throughout Grecian history; and when the days of Hellenic freedom were long past, it became, under the name of Constantinople, the seat of the Roman Empire.

The heart and members of Hellas.

All the colonies on the shores of the Ægean and in the country of the Hellespont, extending as far as Byzantium, entered at once into the political and intellectual life of Greece. The circle of the Ægean coasts and islands was

indeed the heart of Hellas, in which her history centred. The more remote colonies, on the other hand, as those in Western Greece and about the Black Sea, were, so to speak, her arms by which she came into contact with the world, and supplied herself with material and mental food.

Cyprus and Egypt.

From the point of view just set forth, no settlements were more important than those in the eastern extremity of the Mediterranean. Cyprus had been colonized by the Greeks as early perhaps as 1000 B.C. and served, while it remained free, as a convenient station for merchant ships passing to and fro between Greece and the Orient. But it became subject first to Assyria and afterwards to Egypt, and the Greeks were for a time excluded almost wholly from the ports of the East. Then Psammetichus, ruler of a little province on the Nile, with the help of Ionian and Carian mercenaries, became king of all Egypt, and made himself independent of Assyria. As he saw that the Greeks would be useful to him in various ways, he permitted them to come into his country and to found the trading station, Naucratis, at one of the mouths of the Nile. In it all the great commercial cities of Greece had their warehouses, chartered by the Egyptian government. The kings of the land sent youths to Naucratis to learn the Hellenic tongue, and began to form alliances with Greek states. Thus Egypt, with its wealth and knowledge, was opened to the Greeks, and fabulous accounts of this wonderful country found their way into Greek poetry: "There earth, the grain giver, yields herbs in greatest plenty, many which are healing in the cup and many baneful. There each man is a leech skilled beyond all human kind." Many Greeks, who were eager for knowledge and had the leisure and the means of travelling, visited Egypt to see the strange old country and to

*Od.* iv, 229 ff.

learn wisdom from its priests. They brought home a few valuable facts about surveying, the movements of stars, and the recording of events, and with the help of this little treasure of truths their own bright minds created the first real science.

Organization of a colony.

When a city planned to send out a colony, it was customary first to ask the advice and consent of the Delphic Apollo. Having obtained this, it appointed some noble as "founder," who was to lead the enterprise, to distribute the lands among the settlers, and to arrange the government. Generally the mother city permitted any who wished from neighboring communities to join the expedition, and all did so who loved adventure, or wanted better opportunities for trading or farming, or felt oppressed by the home government. As those who took part in the colony were, when they first came together, simply an unorganized crowd of individuals, the founder had to group them in brotherhoods and tribes, and to decide what rights each person should have in the state. He was careful to establish a government and a religion like those of the mother city. In this connection, it is well to notice that every Greek city had in its town-hall a sacred hearth on which it always kept fire burning. This hearth was the religious centre of the community, an altar on which the divine founder and ancestor received his sacrifices. It was customary for colonists to carry with them sacred fire from the hearth of the mother city with which to kindle the public hearth of the new settlement, that the religious life of the old community might continue uninterrupted in the new, and that those who went forth to found homes in a strange country might not for a moment be deprived of divine protection.

Cf. Thuc. i, 24 f.

P. 20 f.

The great period of colonization which began about

Greece and the Greeks.

750 B.C. came to an end two centuries later. The Greeks in this time had spread over a large part of the known ancient world, as the western Europeans have made their home in every part of the modern. The Greeks were then all that western Europeans now are, — representatives and teachers of the highest existing civilization, carrying their culture everywhere, and everywhere gaining the advantage over others by means of their own superior vitality and intelligence. Greece, or Hellas, included all their settlements on the shores of the Mediterranean and its tributaries, from Egypt and Cilicia to the "Pillars of Heracles,"[1] and from south Russia to the Libyan desert. They were not united under a single government, but were one in blood, one in speech and manners, one in religion.

Hdt. viii, 144.

### Sources

The beginnings of states and of leagues belong to the prehistoric period. Our knowledge of this subject is mainly inference from the structure of states and of leagues as we find them in later time. About 700 B.C. men began to use the alphabet for recording contemporary events and for writing literature, — hence we say that the historic period began at this time. For colonization our chief source is Strabo; for the settlements in Italy and Sicily, Thuc. vi, 2–5.

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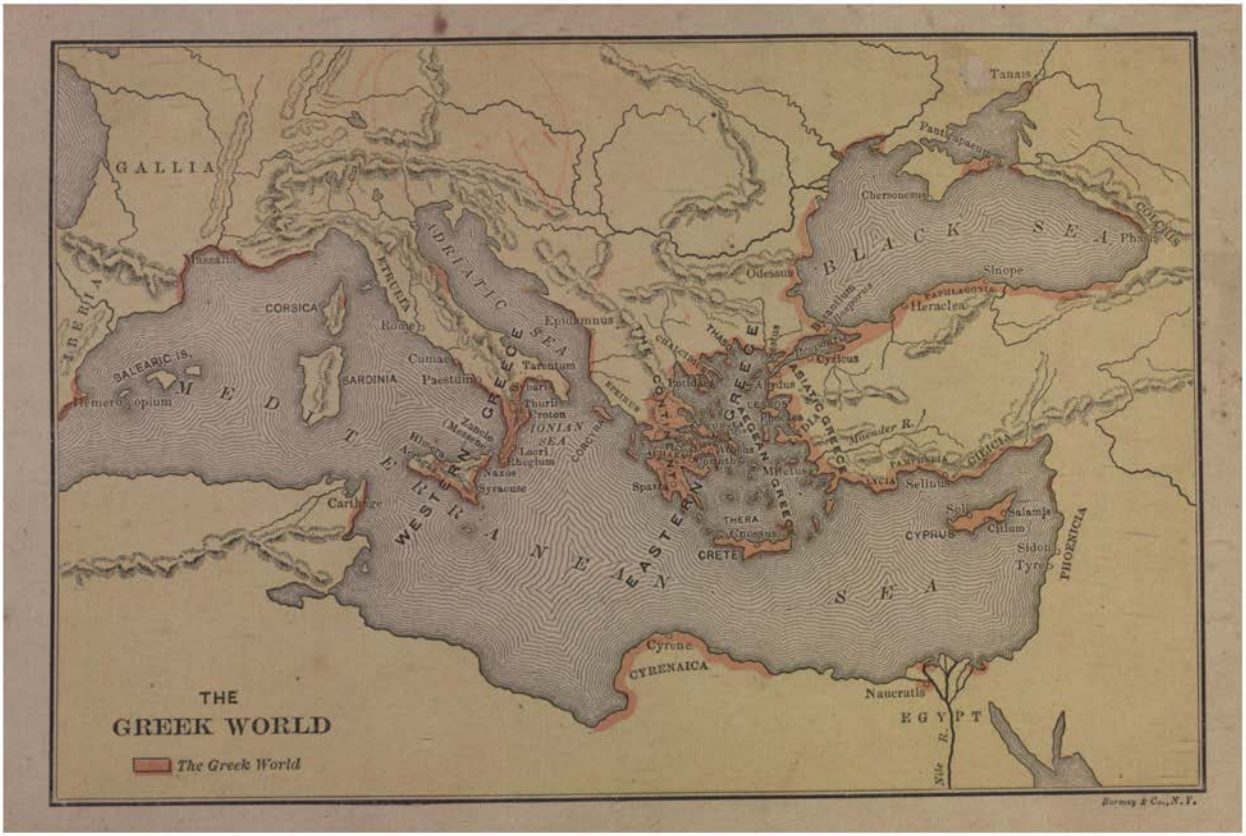
[1] Strait of Gibraltar.

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THE AREOPAGUS
(A Group of Excavators in the Foreground.)

## CHAPTER III

### ATHENS AND SPARTA TO THE TIME OF SOLON: KINGSHIP, ARISTOCRACY, AND TIMOCRACY (750–594 B.C.)

Athens.

WE are told in myth that the Dorians once invaded Attica while Codrus, the "Glorious," was king of the country. Word came to him from Apollo at Delphi that the army whose leader should be killed by the enemy would be victorious in the war. Thereupon he laid aside his royal robe, and, dressing himself like a shepherd, went into the Dorian camp. There he intentionally provoked a quarrel and was slain without being known, thus bring-

Myth of Codrus.

ing eternal glory to himself and victory to his country. The Athenians out of gratitude for his heroic self-sacrifice decreed that his son, Medon, should reign in his stead; and after Medon his descendants, the Medontidæ, were kings of Athens for many generations.[1]

The truth in this myth is, that the Medontidæ, who were the last royal family of Athens, after inventing Medon to explain their family name, made up the story of Codrus to enable them to claim the throne. They had been struggling hopelessly with the council of nobles, which wanted to take their power from them. It began its attack upon them by decreeing that the king should reign henceforth for a period of only ten years, whereas before this he had held office for life. This act must have made the Medontidæ feel that they were to have merely the name of ruling, while their enemies, the great nobles in the council, were to exercise the real authority. Some years later the council, alleging that the Medontidæ were incapable of commanding the army, instituted the office of polemarch, or "leader in war," and filled it from its own number. Without the army the Medontidæ were helpless and soon lost even the title of king, as this office, too, was thrown open to the councillors. Still later a new magistrate, the Archon, was appointed to care for widows, orphans, and heiresses.

Decennial kings, 753 B.C. (?)

Cf. p. 15.

Arist. *Ath. Const.* 3.

713 B.C. (?)

While the offices were increasing in number, the council was likewise growing large. At first only a few great nobles, chiefly the leaders of tribes, composed this body, but in the course of time all the noble families secured

Annual offices, 683 B.C.

P. 13.

[1] This is an earlier version of the story; cf. Plato, *Symposium*, 208 D. The later form of the myth which makes Codrus the last king of Athens is a great perversion of history. All of the kings of Athens before the Medontidæ are mythical.

seats in it and handed them down from father to son. As all the councillors wanted office, and as a man was likely to abuse his power if he held it long, the council decreed that the offices should be annual, and that no one should be reëlected till all who were qualified had served their turn. At the same time, or somewhat later, it instituted a board of six legislators to formulate and record the laws, which up to this time had been unwritten, to be judges in certain civil cases, and to have charge of all public documents. The Archon, who had come to be the head of the state, the king, now only a priest and judge, the polemarch, and the "legislators," we shall henceforth call the "nine archons."[1]

Thesmothetæ, "legislators."

The nine archons.

The councillors filled these offices by turns, and enjoyed all the powers of government. When they called the assembly together, they admitted only their kinsmen, who, like themselves, were nobles. Every noble had to furnish at his own expense a horse and arms for cavalry service. At the time of which we are speaking, Athens had no good infantry, for all who were not knights served merely as light-armed troops. The government of Athens at this time we may call a knightly aristocracy or oligarchy, as only the knights had a share in it. This form of government lasted about a century.

Knightly aristocracy, about 750–650 B.C.

All the knights were large landowners, but commerce enriched many commoners, who strove for a share in the government. The poor, who were greatly oppressed by the aristocrats, joined the new men of wealth in their

Growth of the heavy-armed infantry.

[1] The word "archon" has three meanings: (1) officer or magistrate in general; (2) any one of the special magistrates at Athens who formed the college of "the nine archons"; (3) the head of this college. In this book the word will be used only in its second and third meanings, and the latter will be indicated by capitalization.

attacks on the old nobility. It worked to the advantage of the commons that Athens was continually at war with her neighbors; for the government, to increase its military strength, required all who could to equip themselves with full armor for heavy infantry service, such as Sparta already had; and these heavy-armed soldiers soon forced the knights to admit them to the assembly and to give them a voice in the election of archons. They also found representation in a new council of Four Hundred and One, while the old aristocratic council was to be made up of ex-archons. To secure a better local administration, the authorities divided Attica into four regions, named after the four tribes, and subdivided each region into twelve townships.[1] Then, on the basis of this local organization, they took a census of the citizens, and arranged them with reference to the amount of their landed property in the following classes: (1) the "five-hundred-bushel-men," an especially wealthy class of knights; (2) the knights, comprising all who had enough property to enable them to serve in the cavalry; (3) the "heavy-armed," who had means with which to equip themselves with full armor for service on foot; and (4) the *thetes*, or "poor," who were free from military service and from all other public burdens.[2] This classification was for military objects and for taxation, though direct taxes were rarely levied. The three higher classes could attend the assembly and vote,

P. 28 f.

About 650 B.C.

Local organization.

The census.

[1] Naucraries.

[2] The names of the three higher classes taken directly from the Greek are (1) *pentacosiomedimni*, (2) *hippeis*, and (3) *zeugitæ*. The name of the third class seems to mean the "yoked men," *i.e.* the men who stood together in the phalanx or close line of battle. The traditional derivation from the Greek word which means yoke of work animals, implying the possession of such a pair, is an awkward guess.

while the thetes had no share in the government. Thus the knightly aristocracy had given way to the government of the heavy-armed infantry. The latter was a form of timocracy, that is, the rule of those who possessed a definite amount of property. It lasted about half a century.

Timocracy of the heavy-armed infantry, about 650–594 B.C.

While these changes were taking place, the country was full of confusion and strife. The thetes, who were for the most part in slavery to the rich, threatened to rebel against their lords; the shepherds and peasants of the Hills in north Attica hated the wealthier men of the Plain about Athens, just as the Highland and Lowland Scots used to hate each other; both Plain and Hills were hostile to the traders and fishermen of the Shore; and the contention between these local factions was continually breaking out into civil war. In addition to these troubles, the great families were actually fighting with each other for the possession of the offices, and as the son inherited the feuds of his father, no one could hope for an end of the turmoil. The state was in fact drifting into anarchy.

Civil strife.

There was at this time in Attica an ambitious young man named Cylon, who belonged to one of the noblest and most powerful families of the state, and who had greatly distinguished himself by winning a victory in the Olympic games. Taking advantage of the weakness of his country, he planned to usurp the government and make himself tyrant. His father-in-law, Theagenes, tyrant of Megara, encouraged him in his scheme and lent him a force of mercenaries. With the help of these soldiers and of a band of friends from the nobility, he seized the Acropolis. But the country folk in great numbers put on their heavy armor and besieged him in the citadel. When

Cylon's conspiracy, 628 B.C. (?)

Thuc. i, 126; Plut. *Solon.*

their provisions were exhausted, Cylon and his brother stole through the besieging lines; their starving followers' when forced to surrender flocked for protection about Athena's altar on the Acropolis. Hereupon the chiefs of the townships promised these suppliants their lives if they would submit to trial. They agreed; yet not having full confidence in the promise, they tied a thread to Athena's image and, holding one end of it, went down to the tribunal. But when they came near the shrine of the Furies, the thread by which the goddess gave them her protection broke; and then the Archon Megacles and his followers stoned and butchered them, permitting only a few to escape. Probably a feud between the family of Cylon and that of Megacles led to this impious massacre. The Alcmeonidæ, to whom Megacles belonged, were the mightiest family in Attica. The state appears to have been powerless to bring them to trial either for murder or for violating the right of suppliants, but the curse of impiety rested upon the whole family for two centuries or more.[1] There was need of laws and courts for the suppression of such feuds.

P. 194.

Revealed law.

It was a common belief throughout Greece that the king had in more ancient time received his laws directly from Zeus. As revelations of the divine will were now rare and laws were no longer given when needed, those which had come down from heaven of old must be carefully preserved. The nobles were unwilling to publish these laws, as they did not wish the commons to become acquainted with them. By keeping them secret the nobles had ruled thus far in their own interest; the magistrates decided

[1] According to the ancient Greek conception a man brought a curse upon himself and his family for all time by mistreating a suppliant,—one who took refuge at an altar or in any sacred place.

cases in favor of those of their own rank or of those who could pay the highest fee. Men were growing rich through injustice; and though the great lords were often at strife with each other, they agreed in insulting and oppressing the lower class. They filled all the priesthoods, and the revenues for the support of these gave them fat livings. They plundered the public treasury, and in their greed for wealth they spared neither the sacred nor the profane.[1] Naturally the commons resisted this oppression, and demanded to know the laws by which they were judged. The nobles yielded, and in 621 B.C. the citizens elected Draco "legislator," with full power to write out a code for the state.

Draco, the thesmothete.

His laws of homicide are of chief interest because the Athenians retained them unchanged to the end of their history. Before Draco, a man who killed another in self-defence, or for any other good reason, was compelled, like the wilful murderer, to go into exile or satisfy the kinsmen of the slain by paying them a sum of money; otherwise, they would kill him in revenge. But Draco insisted that the motive of the slayer should be taken into account. He assigned a case to its appropriate court, and fixed the penalty, thus putting an end to the blood feud. Wilful murder was tried according to his code, on the Areopagus, a hill within the city which was sacred to the Furies, and the penalty, in case of conviction, was death with the confiscation of property. Accidental homicide was tried in the Palladium, Athena's shrine in Phalerum on the coast. A man convicted by this court need only go into exile for a short season. Cases of justifiable homicide were tried at the Delphinium, a shrine of Apollo outside the city.

His laws of homicide.

[1] Solon, who lived in these times, tells this in his poems; cf. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 221, 264.

The act, if proved, demanded no penalty, but merely a religious purification. The old aristocratic council sat on the Areopagus for the trial of wilful murder; hence the name, the "Council of the Areopagus." A court of fifty-one elders sat in the other two places. Both courts were under the presidency of the king (archon).

Character of his laws.

Draco's laws of homicide were humane, since they graded penalties according to degree of guilt. They tended also to prevent homicide by giving to the courts full power to deal with the subject. Theft of vegetables was punishable with death. The poor of Attica were always hungry in those times, and the stealing of food was a crying evil. Although the penalty for this offence was too severe, Draco's laws were, on the whole, as mild as the age would permit. "Whoever made them originally, whether heroes or gods, did not oppress the unfortunate, but alleviated humanely their miseries so far as they could with right." The Athenians in after time held Draco in great reverence. It is even probable that apart from his laws of homicide he made little change in existing customs, so that he cannot be held wholly responsible for the harsh features of his code.

Cf. p. 32.

Demosth. xxiii, 70.

When he had engraved his laws on wooden tablets he handed them over to the Council of the Areopagus for safe keeping; and thereafter, if a judge gave an unlawful decision, the injured party could appeal to the council for redress.

Rise of skilled industry and commerce.

Ionia.

Ægina.

In the Epic Age the Greeks had been simply farmers and herdsmen without manufactures, commerce, or money. But in Draco's time a great change was coming over all the coast and island cities of Greece. First the Ionians began to manufacture, to trade, and to coin money. Ægina was the first commercial state west of the Ægean. The

barren soil of the island drove its inhabitants to trade and industry, and it became for a time the market of all the region about the Saronic Gulf. The Æginetans were famous for their hardware and their beautiful bronze work. Next to Ægina came Chalcis and Eretria in Eubœa. These two cities founded many colonies, which increased their commerce, and gained a considerable political power by conquering their neighbors. Then Megara and Corinth began to manufacture and to trade. All these cities grew rapidly in size, and the cost of living in them increased as it became necessary to import food from the neighboring countries. In Attica, too, the industries and commerce were growing, and the simple custom of barter was giving way to the use of coin. There was as yet little money in the country, however, and this readily found its way into the coffers of the rich. The large landowner, who in former time could find no market for his produce outside of the country, had contented himself with making a living for his family, slaves, and tenants; of late, however, he had found that by shipping his grain and cattle to Corinth, Ægina, and Chalcis, he could receive a high price for his cargo. But as Attica yielded only enough food to support the population, those of little means were soon brought to the verge of starvation. The small freeholders, compelled to mortgage their farms, practically became tenants. The tenant gave to the owner a sixth of the produce of the land he tilled; but when he found it difficult to pay his rents, he mortgaged himself and his family to the lord; then, when the debt fell due, he and his family became the slaves of the creditor. Thus many who had once been free were now in slavery for debt either in their own country or in foreign lands. It had come about that there were but two classes in the state: the few very

Chalcis and Eretria. P. 33.

Megara and Corinth. Pp. 34–37.

Attica.

Cf. p. 12.

rich, and the many very poor; and the poor were fast losing their freedom.

But even the common people of Attica were too intelligent to be slaves. They prepared to resist the nobles, and demanded a redistribution of lands, and more political rights. They were arming themselves against the nobles to enforce their demands when Solon came between the two parties as a peacemaker.

Solon.

Solon, who claimed descent from King Codrus, belonged to one of the noblest families of Attica. As his father left him little property, he became a trader and visited many countries to increase his fortune and, at the same time, his knowledge. He became so wise that people reckoned him among the "Seven Sages," who were supposed to have more than human understanding. But Solon was a general as well as a thinker; he proved his ability in war by wresting Salamis from the Megarians and annexing it to Attica. His success in this enterprise as well as his high birth recommended him to the nobles. The poor respected him for his character and for the kindly feeling which he had for them. He is the first person in Athenian history with whom we are well acquainted, and we cannot help admiring him as much as the ancients did. We know him through the fragments of his poems which have come down to us. His name is the first in Attic literature; he wrote excellent lyrics, and when he wanted to address his fellow-citizens on political questions he still composed in verse, as no one yet thought of writing prose. He was no mere idealist, as we might expect a poet and thinker to be, but a clear-headed, sober-minded, practical statesman. "Nothing in excess," a maxim of his, sums up his character and political principles. The citizens elected him Archon and "legislator" for the year 594 B.C.,

Plut. *Solon*; Arist. *Ath. Const.* 5–12.

Archon and thesmothete, 594 B.C.

for by holding these two offices at once he would have all the power he needed to settle the existing troubles.

It was customary for the Archon on the day he entered office to issue an edict assuring the citizens the undisturbed possession of their property during the year. But the power to give such an assurance implies a power to redistribute property. Solon, accordingly, in his edict abolished all public and private debts contracted on the security of land or person, thus setting both land and people free. Out of gratitude for their emancipation, the people thereafter celebrated annually their "Festival of Disburdening."[1] As "legislator," Solon then made the following laws to reënforce his edict: — Abolition of debts.

(1) All who are in slavery for debt shall be free.

(2) No one shall sell his children and kinswomen into slavery.

(3) No one shall lend money on security of the person. Personal liberty laws.

(4) No one shall own more than a certain amount of land fixed by law.

These laws, he thought, would secure the personal freedom of the citizens forever.

His next object was to provide his country with money of her own; for up to this time she had used only the silver piece of Ægina, called the "tortoise" from the figure stamped on its back. But her more friendly neighbor, Chalcis, had issued a lighter silver coin, which Solon adopted as a standard for his city.[2] This enabled those Coinage and new standard.

[1] This is the meaning of Seisachtheia. The measure itself is not properly so called.

[2] According to this standard the ratio of silver to gold was as thirteen to one; the relative value of silver was somewhat greater than in the present coinage of the United States.

who still owed to pay more easily, and helped trade with Eubœa, with the Chalcidic colonies, with Egypt, and with all other countries which used the same standard. Thus Solon introduced Athens to a commercial world which she had scarcely known before. The Athenians never again abolished debts or debased their currency, but followed a financial policy as sound as has obtained in any ancient or modern state.

Solon and Draco.

We may judge how mild Solon was from his treatment of Draco's laws. Those which related to homicide he accepted without change, for he believed them to be just; but in the case of other offences, he lightened the penalties which he found too severe; and as he knew that the courts had acted harshly, he tried to undo their mischief by recalling from exile all whom he believed to have been unjustly banished.

Industrial and commercial regulations.

He aimed in a kindly spirit to help the poor by forbidding the exportation of all products of the soil except olive-oil. His object was to prevent the recurrence of famine by keeping the food produced in the country at home; but as the rich and powerful were likely to transgress this law, and as Solon felt that the state could not bring them to justice, he merely ordered that the archons should curse offenders against the law, or be liable to a fine of a hundred drachmas. In the same spirit, Solon made laws to encourage skilled industry, and compelled every man to teach his son a trade. Attica had too poor a soil to support many from its farms and herds; but when the Athenians were led in this manner to manufacture wares for exportation, they made money by the sale of their goods, so that they could import food and the raw materials needed for their industries. They got salt fish from the Hellespont, grain from the Black Sea region and from Egypt, iron and bronze from Chalcis, and after clear

P. 36 f.

P. 33.

ing their own country of forests, they began to import timber for ship-building from Thrace, near Chalcidice. There was clay for fine pottery near Athens, and in the mountains were quarries of beautiful marble. The Athenian vases and bronze and iron wares were in demand all over Greece and even in foreign states, as in Rome, Etruria, and Carthage. With the growth of commerce and industry, life became easier and the population much larger; but all these results of Solon's lawmaking did not come in their fulness for a hundred years or more. P. 36.

Sumptuary laws.

As Solon believed that the Athenians were spending too much money in the worship of their dead, he made laws to restrict funeral expenses, forbidding them to sacrifice an ox at the grave or to bury more than three pieces of dress with the body; and he would not allow mourners to wail aloud and tear themselves, as they had been accustomed to do, in order to excite pity. He limited, too, the freedom of women, not permitting them to go out at night except in a car with a torch-bearer ahead; and when they walked abroad, he allowed them but "three articles of dress, an obol's worth of food and drink, and a basket no more than a cubit in length." The women of Homer's time enjoyed as much freedom as men; those of Sparta had more, but Athenian women from Solon on came to be confined more and more to the house, and their influence on the public life and on the society of Athens waned through the years that followed.

Constitutional reforms.

Solon made a few changes in the government chiefly to protect the common people in their rights and to prevent them from falling again into slavery. He had a new census taken, and placed all in the first, or highest, class whose annual income from their land amounted at least to 500 measures of grain, oil, and wine. The income of the

New census. P. 44.

second class ranged from 300 to 500 wet and dry measures; that of the third, from 200 to 300 measures; and that of the fourth, or lowest, was below 200 measures. Before Solon, the thetes, or lowest class, were not in the assembly, but he admitted them that they might have a voice in the election of their magistrates. Then he instituted a popular supreme court, to which he admitted as jurors men of every class above thirty years of age. This court heard appeals from the decisions of judges, and tried the magistrates themselves at the end of their terms, if any one accused them of abusing their power. By their admission to the assembly and the court, the thetes were enabled to protect themselves from oppression and slavery.

Heliæa, "popular supreme court."

The offices and councils.

Solon provided that men of the wealthiest class only could be generals and treasurers because of the great responsibilities of these offices. The first and second classes together made up the cavalry, and from them the archons were chosen. The third class formed the heavy infantry and could fill the less important offices, while the fourth class rarely served in war, and then only as light-armed troops, paid no taxes, and filled no individual offices. The archons and the Council of the Areopagus performed substantially the same duties as before. The new council, now consisting of just four hundred members, prepared measures for presentation to the assembly and assisted in conducting the government. Solon's only important constitutional reforms, however, were those relating to the popular court and to the thetes. He had no thought of framing an ideal form of government, but wanted merely to improve the condition of the poor. The government continued to be a timocracy, since public rights were still graded according to the census; but he made it more popular by admitting the poorest class of citizens to the assem-

The Athenian Constitution as improved by Solon.

bly and to the supreme court, and by granting an appeal to that court from the judgments of magistrates. But as no one received pay for public service, the thetes could not spend much of their time in court and assembly, so that the government was still for the most part in the hands of the well-to-do. Solon did not want a democracy; he simply desired no more slavery or oppression for the commons, and he gained his object.

Cf. p. 48.

Law as to sedition.

Realizing that there would still be civil strife in Attica, he ordered the people in case of violent party conflict to join whichever side they deemed most just. Any one who held aloof from the contention should be dishonored and deprived of the citizenship. His object was to compel the commons to take an active part in public life; and he believed that they could by united effort bring any sedition quickly to a close, as they had done in the case of Cylon's conspiracy.

P. 45 f.

Solon's last years.

He did not provide for lawmaking in the future, but, hoping that his arrangements would remain unchanged, he bound the Athenians to accept them as they were for a hundred years. Yet when he had finished his work, people came to his house every day to ask him to change or explain the meaning of his laws in such a way as to benefit them to the disadvantage of others; and so to avoid making enemies he bought a trading vessel and set out on a voyage, telling the Athenians that he should be gone ten years. On this journey he went to Cyprus and to Egypt, as he himself says in his poems, and Herodotus tells a charming story of his visit to the wealthy Crœsus, king of Lydia, though it is hardly possible that Crœsus came to the throne so early. When he returned to Athens he found his country in as much confusion as ever, and he was now himself too old to restore order; but of this we shall speak

in the following chapter. The Athenians always looked back to Solon as the author of nearly everything that was best in their state, and the moderns generally regard him as the wisest and most humane legislator of ancient times.

Sparta, about 750–600 B.C.

The early history of Sparta is very different from that of Athens. "The circumstances," says Herodotus, "which led to her having a good government were the following:

Myth of Lycurgus.

Lycurgus, a distinguished Spartan, went to Delphi to visit the oracle. Scarcely had he entered into the inner fane, when the priestess of Apollo exclaimed aloud: —

Hdt. i, 65 f.; Plut. *Lycurgus.*

"Oh! thou great Lycurgus, that com'st to my beautiful dwelling,
Dear to Zeus, and to all who sit in the halls of Olympus,
Whether to hail thee as god I know not, or only a mortal,
But my hope is strong that a god thou wilt prove, Lycurgus.

Some say, besides, that the priestess gave him the entire system of laws which are still in force among the Spartans. The Lacedæmonians, however, themselves assert that Lycurgus, when he was guardian of his nephew, Labotas, king of Sparta, and regent in his place, introduced them from Crete; for as soon as he became regent, he substituted new customs and made the citizens obey them. After this he organized the army and instituted a council and magistrates called ephors." Plutarch says he went both to Crete and to Ionia to compare the customs of these countries; but he preferred those of the Cretans because they were a sober and temperate people, whereas the Ionians were delicate and luxurious; and that on his return, he remade the whole state in Cretan fashion. "After his death," Herodotus continues, "the Lacedæmonians built him a temple, and ever since they have worshipped him with the utmost reverence. As their soil was good and their people were many, they grew rapidly in power and became a prosperous state."

The truth in this myth is, that the Lacedæmonians had a god named Lycurgus, who, they thought, had once been a hero among them and had given them their laws and government; and as they saw that their own customs were like those of Crete, they believed that Lycurgus brought them from that country. In reality, the Spartan institutions were a result of their surroundings. Criticism of the myth.

The rule of Sparta, as has been said, was that of a plain over the hills. The valley of the Eurotas supported in early times a large number of farmers who were wealthy enough to supply themselves with full armor. By means of her heavy infantry, Sparta conquered all Laconia and held it in subjection. Then she began to attack Messenia. This "First Messenian War," as it is called, ended in the complete conquest of that country, because it had no central government and was therefore unable to withstand so mighty a power as Sparta. The Messenians became serfs and were compelled to till their own fields for the Spartans, paying them half the produce: "even as asses worn with heavy burdens, bringing to their masters under hard necessity the half of whatsoever the soil produces." They revolted and were helped by their neighbors; but the Spartan infantry triumphed again in this "Second Messenian War," and the conquered took upon themselves once more the yoke of slavery. Spartan conquests. P. 28. About 725 B.C. Paus. iv, 4–24. Tyrtæus' *poems*. About 650 B.C.

The Spartans were too proud and too exclusive to share their citizenship with the conquered in Laconia and Messenia; and as they were themselves never more than eight or nine thousand of military age, while their subjects were numbered by the hundreds of thousands, they could maintain their rule only by making of themselves a standing army and by keeping up a constant military training. Every Spartan must have a sound body to begin with. The Spartan education.

Boys and youths.

father brought his boy soon after birth to the elders of his tribe; and if they found him puny and ill-shaped, they ordered him to be exposed to death in a chasm of the mountains near by, but if they judged the boy strong and healthy, they assigned him a lot of land for his keeping. The Spartan boy was to his seventh year in the care of his mother; then the state took charge of his education, and placed him in a company of lads under a trainer. From the age of twelve he must gather reeds for his own bed from the banks of the Eurotas, and must learn to live without underclothing, and to go barefoot winter and summer. Every year the boys must give a test of their endurance by submitting to a whipping before the altar of the goddess Artemis, and he was the hero who could endure the flogging longest. Boys, youths, and young men were organized in troops and companies, and exercised in marching, sham fighting, and gymnastics. They were taught to hunt and to be nimble and cunning, but their only mental culture was in music and poetry. The whole object of their education was to make brave, strong, and well-disciplined soldiers. The maidens passed through a training like that of the youths, though less severe. They, too, practised running, leaping, and throwing the spear and discus. The state encouraged them to such exercise, as it considered the gymnastic education of women necessary to the physical perfection of the race.

Young men.

The syssitia, "messes."

At the age of twenty the Spartan youth became a young man, and as he was now liable to military service in the field, he joined a "mess," or brotherhood of about fifteen comrades each, who ate together in war and in peace. The members of the mess to which he applied voted on his admission with bread crumbs, "throwing them into a basin carried by the waiter around the table; those who liked the

young man dropped their ball into the basin without changing its figure, and if any one disliked him, he pressed the crumb flat between his fingers and thus gave his negative vote. And if there were but one of these flattened pieces in the basin, the candidate was rejected, so desirous were they that all the members of the company should be agreeable to each other." Each member must furnish his monthly share of barley meal, wine, cheese, figs, and money for meat and dainties; also a part of whatever game he got by hunting. The "black broth" was the national Spartan dish, relished by the elderly men, though the young men preferred meat. Thus their fare was simple but sufficient; and no one could say that they were spoiled for war by being overfed. Plut. *Lycurgus.*

At thirty the Spartan became a mature man and could now attend the assembly, but he did not cease from military service and training till his sixtieth year. Though compelled by law to marry, he could have no home and could not even claim his family as his own. All the older Spartans regarded the younger as their children, and the young were taught to respect and obey any of the citizens as much as their own fathers. But while the Spartan ate in the barracks and passed his time in military exercises, his wife lived in comfort and luxury. Aristotle says that Lycurgus, after subjecting the men to discipline, tried to make the women orderly, but failed, and permitted them therefore to live as they pleased. As they could inherit and acquire property in Laconia, and as men were not permitted to engage in business, it resulted in time that two-fifths of the land in the state came into the hands of the women. Mature men. Women.

The helots, or state serfs, tilled the fields of the Spartans, paying them fixed rents in kind, and were required in Helots.

addition to do work for any Spartan who asked it. They served in war as light-armed troops, and some were given their freedom for bravery and faithfulness. They lived with their families on the farms they worked, or grouped together in villages. Their lords had no right to free them or to sell them beyond the borders of the country; and under favorable conditions they could even acquire property of their own. Still, their condition was hard, for the more intelligent they were, the more the Spartans dreaded and oppressed them. The rulers organized a secret police force of youths, which was to watch over the helots, and put out of the way any one who might be regarded as dangerous to the community. "Most of the Lacedæmonian institutions were especially intended to secure them against this source of danger. Once, when they were afraid of the number and vigor of the helot youth, they proclaimed that a selection should be made of those helots who claimed to have rendered the best service to the Lacedæmonians in war, and promised them liberty. The announcement was intended to test them; it was thought that those among them who were foremost in asserting their freedom would be most high-spirited, and most likely to rise against their masters. So they selected about two thousand, who were crowned with garlands and went in procession round the temples; they were supposed to have received their liberty; but not long afterwards the Spartans put them all out of the way, and no man knew how any one of them came to his end."

Thuc. iv, 80.

Perioeci, "dwellers-around."

The *periœci* were between the helots and the Spartans in rank. They inhabited the towns of Laconia and Messenia, and at first enjoyed independence in all local matters; but as time went on Sparta encroached on their liberties by sending out officers to rule over them. They paid war

taxes and served as heavy-armed troops in the Lacedæmonian army. As the land left them by the conquerors was the poorest in the country, many of them made their living by skilled industry and trade. While the Spartans themselves could use only iron money, the perioeci were not thus hampered in their business. On the whole, they could not have been badly treated, for they remained loyal to Sparta for centuries. Spartans, perioeci, and helots were alike Dorians, so far as we know; no difference of race has been discovered, and we are not certain why the Spartans treated some of the conquered as serfs and left others free; but perhaps the perioeci were the inhabitants of communities which were strong enough to make good terms with their conquerors.

P. 256.

Pp. 28 *f*, 57.

Lacedæmonian government.

We shall next examine the government of Lacedæmon. There is a story that Aristodemus, leader of the Spartans on their supposed migration from the North, had twin sons, who became kings of their country, and for this reason Lacedæmon always had two kings, one from each of the royal families founded by the twins. The truth probably is, that the two kings were originally chiefs of communities which united in the city of Sparta. These kings were always quarrelling with each other, and hence were weak in their rule. The assembly, on the other hand, was strong, as it was composed of all mature Spartans who served in the heavy infantry. Now while the kings were spending their energy in wrangling, the assembly was taking to itself the most important of their powers. It did not exercise these powers directly, however, but intrusted them to a board of five ephors, or overseers, filled annually from its own number. In the course of time the ephors placed themselves at the head of the state, while the kings came to be no more than priests and generals. Among

P. 28.

The five ephors, "overseers."

Gerousia, "council of thirty."

the Spartans were some especially noble families, who were represented in the council by twenty-eight elders and the two kings. The council lost influence along with the kings to such an extent that, at the time Solon was making laws for the Athenians, the Lacedæmonian government, though a kingship in name, had come to be in reality an aristocracy of the heavy-armed infantry.

Influence abroad.

P. 22.

From the earliest times the Lacedæmonians were ambitious for influence among the states of Greece. They joined the Delphic amphictyony, and continued thereafter in the closest relations with Apollo's oracle at the centre of the league. Their aim in this was chiefly to gain the support of the prophet Apollo for their policy at home and abroad. In a like spirit they allied themselves with Elis to control the oracle and festival at Olympia; for they felt that this would help them to an influential place among the Peloponnesian states.

Spartan culture.

Terpander.

Jebb, p. 56.

Tyrtæus.

In the times of which we are speaking the Spartans were more cultured than the Athenians. Their life was more refined, and they had art and poetry, while the Athenians, so far as we know, had none before Solon. Terpander, possibly a Lesbian by birth, lived in Sparta early in the seventh century B.C., and composed music for the citizens. He "is said to have made the first great epoch in Greek music by giving the lyre seven strings instead of four. This means the discovery of the octave; for, as the eighth note only reproduces the first, an instrument with seven notes can express the whole diatonic scale." Tyrtæus, who belonged to the time of the Second Messenian War, wrote stirring martial strains which excited the Spartans to deeds of arms. They sang his songs as they went into battle, and under the inspiration of their poet they conquered. Long afterwards they continued to sing them in

camp at meals, and the captain used to reward the best singer with a fine slice of meat. Tyrtæus, like Solon, was a statesman and general as well as poet, and helped with his strategy to overcome the Messenians. It was the Athenians probably who, in later times, invented the story that Tyrtæus was a lame schoolmaster sent from their own city to help the Spartans in their war with Messenia. While his poems were chiefly battle songs, Alcman, who lived about the same time, was a poet of peace, and sang of eating, drinking, and love. The Spartans certainly enjoyed life in this age; and, indeed, it required two centuries or more of their education to stifle their intellectual and artistic life, and to make them hard, ignorant, and narrow. Alcman.

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POSEIDON, DIONYSUS? AND DEMETER?
(From the Parthenon Frieze.)

## CHAPTER IV

### PELOPONNESE AND ATHENS: FROM TYRANNY TO DEMOCRACY (THE SIXTH CENTURY B.C.)

The wooing of Agariste, about 572 B.C.(?)

Hdt. vi, 126–131.

CLEISTHENES, tyrant of Sicyon in the time of Solon, held the most splendid court in Greece. As he had no son, he wished to marry his daughter, Agariste, to the best husband he could find. Accordingly, at the Olympic games, after winning a victory in the chariot race, he made the following announcement: "Whoever of the Greeks thinks himself worthy to become the son-in-law of Cleisthenes, let him come sixty days hence to Sicyon; for within a year's time Cleisthenes will decide on the man to whom he shall give his daughter." So all the Greeks who were proud of their own merit or of their country flocked to Sicyon as suitors; and Cleisthenes had a foot-course and a wrestling-ground made ready, to try their powers. Now when they had all come, Cleisthenes inquired of each concerning his country and his family; after which he kept them with him a year and made trial of their manly bear-

ing, their accomplishments, and their disposition. Such as were still youths he took with him from time to time to the gymnasia; but the greatest trial of all was at the banquet-table. Though he entertained them all sumptuously, he was most pleased with the suitors who came from Athens. There were Megacles, grandson of the archon who had put down the conspiracy of Cylon, and Hippocleides, the wealthiest and handsomest of the Athenians. He preferred the latter because of his manliness, and because his people were related to the ruling family of Corinth. P. 45.

When the day came on which Cleisthenes was to declare his choice, he first made a sacrifice of a hundred oxen and invited to the banquet the suitors and all the people of Sicyon. After the feast, the suitors vied with each other in music and in speaking on a given subject. Presently, as the drinking advanced, Hippocleides called aloud to the flute-player to strike up a dance; and Hippocleides danced. He fancied that he was dancing excellently; but Cleisthenes, who was observing him, began to suspect his conduct. Then Hippocleides, after a pause, told an attendant to bring in a table; and when it was brought he mounted it and danced first Laconian figures and then Attic; after which he stood on his head on the table, and began to toss his legs about. Cleisthenes, who could no longer contain himself, cried out, "Son of Teisander, you have danced your wife away!" "What does Hippocleides care?" was the other's answer, and this, it is said, became a proverb. But Cleisthenes bestowed Agariste on Megacles, and she became the mother of Cleisthenes, the Athenian lawgiver, and the great-grandmother of the still more famous Pericles.

This story from Herodotus introduces us to the social

life of Sicyon in the reign of Cleisthenes, when this city
Sicyon. was at its best. Sicyon was a little city-state with a nar-
Pp. 20 f, 29. row territory in the valley of the Asopus. Its soil, though
fertile, could not support many citizens; but the family of
670–360 B.C. Cleisthenes, which held the power for more than a century,
by promoting trades and traffic, gave the city an enviable
place among the states of Greece. Cleisthenes was the
most brilliant of all the rulers of Sicyon. He freed his
P. 29. state from the influence of Argos in politics and religion,
and from the dominion of the old nobility. He brought
about the latter result by setting aside the three old
Dorian tribes which the nobles had controlled, and intro-
ducing four new tribes, in which the citizens were all to
Hdt. v, 68. be free from their great lords. As three of the new tribes
were apparently in the country, he used to call them in
jest the Piglings, Donkeys, and Porkers. He was a patron
of art; and in his reign his city became the seat of a famous
"school," which continued for centuries to produce great
works in sculpture.

The "First Sacred War." Across the Corinthian Gulf from Sicyon was the port town of Cirrha, and inland on the road from the port to Delphi was the city of Crisa. Pilgrims to Delphi from the South and West usually landed at Cirrha and took their way
Pp. 29, 62. through Crisa. Though the laws of the Delphic amphictyony declared that all the roads to the sacred city should be free, the people of Cirrha and Crisa were so impious as to enrich themselves by levying tolls on pilgrims. Cleisthenes, in alliance with Athens and Thessaly, waged war on the offending cities and blotted them out of existence.
594–590 B.C. (?) This is called the "First Sacred War," as it was the first war which was carried on for the protection of Delphi.
P. 100. Commercial jealousy of Cirrha and a desire to meddle in the affairs of central Greece led Cleisthenes to engage in

it; but it had an important result as it brought Sicyon and Athens close together, and it was to cement this union that Cleisthenes gave his daughter to the Athenian Megacles, son of Alcmeon, his fellow-general in the war.

The Greek tyrant.

We may infer from what has been said that Cleisthenes, though a tyrant, was on the whole a wise and able ruler. Indeed, a tyrant in the Greek sense was not necessarily a bad ruler, but simply one who usurped the authority or held it by unconstitutional means. Often when there was strife between the factions of an oligarchy, as at Athens in Cylon's time, the noble leader who was defeated in the struggle appealed to the commons, promising them protection from the oppression of the ruling class in return for their support. With the help of the people, he overthrew the oligarchs and made himself tyrant. In this way most of the Greek tyrannies arose.

P. 45.

Benefits of the tyranny.

Many of the Greek states in the seventh century were, like Attica, filled with civil strife; but the tyrants, by banishing the disorderly and by compelling those who remained at home to submit to the laws, reduced their countries to peace and harmony. They fulfilled their promise to the people by putting an end to the oppressive rule of the great nobles, and generally enforced the existing laws and constitution, though they robbed them of the vitality of freedom. The tyrants encouraged religion, literature, and art, and invited to their courts the best poets, painters, sculptors, and architects they could find in Greece. They educated the common people by fostering the forms of religion and poetry adapted to them; and by training all classes alike to obey authority, they prepared the way for self-government. Their treaties with foreign states, as that of Cleisthenes with Athens and Thessaly, secured to their countries the advantages of commerce, and

helped to establish concord throughout the Hellenic world. They were the first organizers of peace, the founders of the first standing armies after that of Sparta, the first able protectors of their states against both civil and foreign foes.

Decline of the tyranny.

The usurper himself was generally a wise and energetic ruler, but his son or grandson was likely to be a weak, violent despot. Ruling families declined rapidly, and rarely held their power to the third generation. The Greeks were impatient of oppression; and so, when the tyranny became useless and burdensome, they hastened to rid themselves of it, and remembered thereafter its evils while they forgot its benefits. Thus the stories of the tyrants told by Herodotus are little more than a recital of their vices and violence.

The Cypselidæ, 655–582 B.C.

The family of Cleisthenes was one of the ablest tyrannic dynasties of Greece, and held its power longer than any other. Next in fame and in length of rule came the Cypselidæ of Corinth. The old blue-blooded aristocrats of that city, who had indeed done much to make it the mistress of the sea, at length grew narrow and insolent. One of their number had a daughter, named Labda, whom none of the aristocrats would marry because she was lame, and whom he gave therefore to Aëtion, a man of the lower class. Some time afterwards the nobles, learning from the Delphic oracle that Labda's infant son would, when he became a man, be the ruin of them all, sent ten of their number to Aëtion's house to kill the child. When they came and asked to see it, the mother, thinking that their inquiry arose from kindly feeling to her husband, laid it in the arms of one of them. Now they had agreed by the way that whoever first got hold of the child should dash it against the ground. It happened providentially, however, that the babe smiled as the man took it; and he, touched

Birth of Cypselus.

Hdt. v, 92.

GREECE
AT THE
DAWN OF HISTORY
Area occupied by tribes
Area occupied by cities
Political leagues
Great states
Delian league
Asiatic city leagues (religious)
Delphian Amphictyony
THRACIAN SEA
AEGEAN SEA
IONIAN SEA
PROPONTIS
Strymon R.
Hellespont
MT. OLYMPUS
IDA MT.
MT. PINDUS
TENEDOS
LESBOS
Mitylene
Ambracian Gulf
THESSALIOTIS
PHTHIOTIS
DOLOPES
AENIS
AETOLIA
LOCRIS
PHOCIS
Amphissa
Delphi
Chalcis
Eretria
BOEOTIA
Thebes
ATTICA
Athens
Megara
Corinth
Isthmus of Corinth
Aegium
ACHAEA
ELIS
Strongylo
ARCADIA
PISATIS
Olympia
ARGOLIS
Argos
Lepreum
Tegea
MESSENIA
Sparta
LACEDAEMON
Gulf of Argos
Argolic Gulf
Messenian Gulf
Laconian Gulf
CYCLADES
DELOS
CHIOS
Smyrna
TMOLUS MT.
Caystor R.
Hermus R.
SAMOS
Ephesus
Maeander R.
Miletus
Halicarnassus
Cnidus
RHODES
Burmay & Co., N. Y.

with pity, could not kill it but passed it to his next neighbor, who gave it to the third; and so it went safely through the hands of all ten. The mother received the child back; but when the men went out of the house, she heard them reproaching one another for not having done the deed. Then in fear she hid her child in a chest, so that when the men returned to destroy it, they could not find it anywhere. From this circumstance, the mother named her son Cypselus, after the Greek word for chest.

Cypselus and Periander.

When Cypselus became a man, he overthrew the nobles and made himself tyrant of Corinth; and though usurpers generally found it necessary to surround themselves with a band of soldiers enlisted from other states, Cypselus was so beloved by the majority of his subjects that he ruled for thirty years without a guard. His son Periander, who succeeded him, was compelled to use harsh measures against the nobles who opposed him, and laid heavy taxes on the wealthy. But he used the revenues in beautifying his city and in increasing its power and influence throughout Greece. Like Cleisthenes, he was a patron of artists and of poets. At his court was a famous poet named Arion, who composed choral songs in honor of Dionysus, the god of life and joy, the favorite deity of the peasants. Choral songs were sung by a trained chorus, who accompanied the music with dancing, and those in honor of Dionysus were the germ out of which grew the drama.[1]

Arion. Hdt. i, 23 f.

In the reign of the Cypselidæ, Corinth founded many colonies, extended her trade in every direction, and reached the height of her political importance. They were liberal patrons of religion, especially the religion of the peasants; and their gifts to the gods at Olympia

Paus. v, 17–19.

[1] The story of Periander in Herodotus, iii, 48–53, is doubtless highly colored by the feeling against tyrants which prevailed in his own day.

were counted among the wonders of the world. On the downfall of their family, Corinth became a well-regulated oligarchy. Pindar somewhat later celebrated their city as the "portal of Isthmian Poseidon[1] and nursery of splendid youths. For therein dwell Order and her sisters, Justice and Peace, the sure foundation of states, — all of them the golden daughters of Law and dispensers of wealth to men."

*Olymp.* xiii.

Damasias of Athens, 582–581 B.C.

In the year in which the reign of the Cypselidæ came to an end, Damasias, Archon of Athens, tried in vain to make himself tyrant of his city. Solon had been too moderate to satisfy any one: he had disappointed the poor by not dividing among them the property of the rich, and he had angered the wealthy and the noble by abolishing debts and by lessening their privileges in the government. In addition to this trouble, the three local factions strove so bitterly with each other in some years as to prevent elections. The chief difficulty seems to have been that the old nobility, whose estates were for the most part in the Plain, tried to monopolize the offices and prevent the election of men from the other two sections. Thus Damasias, who was Archon for the year 582 B.C., and who probably represented the nobles of the Plain, continued illegally for the next year in possession of his office, evidently aiming to make himself master of Athens. But the artisan and peasant classes of the Shore and Hills finally combined against him, and drove him from office. The nobles, artisans, and peasants then made a compromise by which all three classes were represented on the board of nine archons.

P. 50.

Troubles in Attica.

P. 45.

Arist. *Ath. Const.* 13.

Pisistratus, tyrant of Athens, 560–527 B.C.

Though the elections were held thereafter without disturbance, the bitterness between the factions increased. Solon had been urged by his friends to usurp the govern-

[1] Poseidon received especial worship on the Isthmus.

ment, but he was too loyal and unselfish for such a move. Pisistratus, Solon's kinsman, was, from natural inclination, a friend of the peasants, but unlike Solon, he showed no disposition to sacrifice himself for their benefit. He was a man of remarkable ability, a brilliant general, and a clever politician. Furthermore, he was of a generous and sympathetic nature, smooth of speech, and the very essence of refinement in manners. He gathered under his protection the men of the Hills, the landless, and, in a word, the entire discontented element of Attica in opposition to the Plain and the Shore. Driving one day into the market-place at Athens wounded and his mules bleeding, he declared that his enemies had tried to kill him. His life was no doubt in danger; and though his opponents insisted that he had inflicted the wounds himself, the people, believing the story, voted him a body-guard. With this he seized the Acropolis in 560 B.C., and made himself tyrant. The opposing factions by combining expelled him twice, but twice he regained his authority. On his second return he surrounded himself with a strong force of mercenaries, banished his opponents, and thus made his power secure. His rule was mild, and his only enemies were among the nobles.

Hdt. i, 59; Arist. *Ath. Const.* 14.

Pisistratus died at an advanced age, and was succeeded by his son, Hippias. He and his brother, Hipparchus, who was next in age and who helped in the government, continued the mild policy of their father. But when the younger brother was assassinated because of a private quarrel, the elder became cruel and suspicious, and this change of policy helped bring about his expulsion in 510 B.C. Thus Pisistratus and his sons ruled Athens for a half century, with the two interruptions of their exile. We shall now consider what they did for their country.

Hippias, tyrant of Athens, 527–510 B.C.

Thuc. i, 20; vi, 53–59; Arist. *Ath. Const.* 18–19.

Achievements of the Pisistratidæ.

Solon had freed many Athenians from slavery, but had left them penniless.[1] Pisistratus furnished them with lots of land by dividing among them the estates of nobles whom he had killed in battle or had banished from the country; and he provided them, too, with seeds and work animals with which to begin farming. He then punished the lazy, permitted no idlers in the market-place, and compelled many of the city people to move out into the country. He sent judges about the country to settle the peasants' disputes, that they might not need to come to the law-courts of the city; and he often went out himself for the same purpose. "It was on one of these trips that, as the story goes, Pisistratus had his adventure with the man in the district of Hymettus, who was cultivating the spot afterwards known as the 'Tax-free Farm.' He saw a man digging and working at a very stony piece of ground with a stake, and being surprised at his implement, he sent and asked what he got out of this plot of land. 'Aches and pains,' said the man, 'and of these Pisistratus must have his tenth.' The man spoke without knowing who his questioner was; but Pisistratus was so pleased with his frank speech and his industry that he granted him exemption from all taxes. And so in general he burdened the people as little as possible with his government, but always cultivated peace and kept them in all quietness. Hence the tyranny of Pisistratus was often spoken of as the 'golden age.'"

Rural policy.

Arist. *Ath. Const.* 16.

Rural festivals.

He provided the peasants with rural festivals, especially in connection with the worship of Dionysus, in order that country life might seem to them attractive and complete in itself. Thus Pisistratus became the father and founder

[1] P. 51 f. For the causes of the poor economic condition of the Athenians before Solon, pp. 43, 48–50.

of the Attic peasantry, while the great landed estates of the nobles disappeared forever.

Pisistratus and his sons beautified Athens with public works. Among these was the Academy, which Hipparchus founded northwest of the city as an exercise ground, and the Lyceium, a gymnasium, also outside the city. Here one could see the Athenian youths wrestling, "some locked Public works.

THE WRESTLERS

close together and tripping one another up by the heels, some writhing and twisting, and rolling in the mire." They built on the Acropolis a temple to Athena called the Hecatompedon because it was a hundred feet long; outside the city, on the right bank of the Ilissus, they laid the foundations of the Olympieium, a stupendous temple to Zeus. As Lucian, *Anacharsis*, 1.

they did not remain in Athens long enough to finish it, and as the democracy which followed was unwilling to build on their foundations, it was left to the Roman emperor, Hadrian, to complete. Fifteen of its columns are still standing, "perhaps the most conspicuous of all ancient remains in modern times." Painters and sculptors as well as architects and common artisans found employment on these works. The age shows a great advance in art. The drapery of garments was now for the first time successfully reproduced, and the structure of the body closely imitated. The society of the court, though brilliant, was luxurious and modish. The men wore trailing linen robes, and letting their hair grow long, tied it in a knot with a clasp of golden grasshoppers, while the young women had rows of small curls about the forehead and held their arms a little way from their sides, so as not to ruffle the dainty folds of their nicely fitting gowns.

Harrison and Verrall, p. 190.

Court society.

ATHENIAN LADY AT TIME OF PISISTRATUS
(Acropolis Museum, Athens.)

Literature.

Among the poets at the court were Anacreon, the graceful poet of pleasure, and Thespis, the first Attic dramatist. The drama was the poetry of democracy: it was ad-

THE OLYMPIEIUM

(The Acropolis in the background.)

dressed to the people, and formed a part of the worship of their god Dionysus; it demanded a large audience and embodied the spirit and energy of freedom.

Government. The Pisistratidæ enforced the laws and constitution, taking care only that one of their family should hold the Archonship. Through them Athens made a great advance in government, for now the Athenians first learned the value of peace and order. No Megarians or Bœotians devastated the Attic fields while they were in power; no oligarch ground the peasant with oppressive rents, ejected him from his farm, or sold him into slavery. The peasant merely paid a tax of ten per cent. — later five per cent. — on the produce of his field as the price of security.

Alliances. Solon had taught Athens in her relations with other states to aim at something better than petty border warfare; and now Pisistratus, improving upon his kinsman's idea, became the founder of Athenian diplomacy. In seeking to widen his sphere of influence, he allied himself with Polycrates of Samos, who had built up a strong naval power. The Samian despot swept the Ægean with his fleet, robbing friend and foe alike. He used to say that he could win more gratitude by restoring to his friend what he had taken from him, than by not taking at all. In his wealth, in his public works, and in his patronage of culture, he was the most magnificent tyrant of his day. Pisistratus entered into close friendship, too, with Thessaly and Lacedæmon, at this time the strongest powers in continental Greece, and with nearly all the other prominent Greek states.

Sigeium. The Athenians had already seen that they must gain control of the Hellespont in order to trade easily with the country about the Black Sea. Pisistratus, accordingly, renewed a former colony at Sigeium, near the Hellespont,

and placed one of his sons in command of it. About the same time, Athens secured control of the Thracian Chersonese in the following manner. The Dolonci, a Thracian tribe in the Chersonese, being harassed by their enemies, sent their princes to Delphi to consult Apollo about the matter. His priestess bade them take with them as a founder into their country the man who should first offer them hospitality after they had quitted the temple. As the Dolonci returned along the sacred road through Phocis and Bœotia, no one invited them in; and finally they turned aside and travelled towards Athens. Now Miltiades, a great noble, who chanced to be sitting in the porch of his country house, saw these strangers as they passed along the road; and knowing by their garb that they were foreigners, he invited them in and gave them entertainment. The strangers accepted his hospitality, and after dinner told him of the oracle, and begged him to obey the god. Miltiades, who found the government of Pisistratus irksome and wanted an opportunity to go abroad, readily gave his consent; and Pisistratus permitted him to lead out an Athenian colony to the Chersonese. The Dolonci elected him king, and he immediately built a wall across the neck of the Chersonese to protect it from enemies. He proved so able a ruler that when he died the people of the country instituted a festival, in which they honored him thereafter as the founder of their state. As he had no sons, he left his kingdom and wealth to his nephew, Stesagoras, who was soon afterwards assassinated; and then the Pisistratidæ sent out another nephew, Miltiades, who changed the kingship into a tyranny and surrounded himself, for his own safety, with a band of mercenaries. This second Miltiades was to prove one of the world's great military heroes.

Chersonese.

P. 39.

Miltiades.

Hdt. vi, 34-39.

Pisistratus found in the Delian League another opportunity to extend his influence abroad. This league had declined, and the ground about the shrine of Apollo on Delos, on which the Ionians in earlier times had held their games and festivals, was now a cemetery. But Pisistratus had the bodies removed and the island purified. He then revived the festival, and made Athens the head of the religious league, which was afterwards to become political under the name of the Delian Confederacy.

Delian League. P. 22 f.

Such was the rule of the Pisistratidæ. But in order to understand the causes of their overthrow, it is necessary to learn how Sparta became strong enough to interfere in Athenian affairs. After the conquest of Messenia, the Lacedæmonians seized some of the Arcadian territory to the north of them. They wanted all Arcadia, for they needed more land and helots to give support to a larger number of heavy-armed Spartans. On consulting the oracle at Delphi as to their prospects of success in war with the Arcadians, they received the following reply: —

Peloponnesian League. P. 57. Sparta and Arcadia. About 600 B.C.

The land of Arcadia thou askest; thou askest too much; I refuse it;
Many there are in Arcadian land, stout men, eating acorns;
These will prevent thee from this; but I am not grudging towards thee;
Tegea beaten with sounding feet I will give thee to dance in,
And a fair plain I will give thee to measure with line and divide it.[1]

In this way the oracle deceived them into attacking Tegea, a strong Arcadian city near their border; for the Tegeans made them dance to a tune which they did not like, and thus literally fulfilled the word of the god. The Arcadians, like the modern Swiss, a simple race of mountaineers, knew how to defend their homes. They

[1] Hdt. i, 66. But probably no oracles have come down to us precisely in the form in which they were given. Most or all of them were made up, or at least revised, after the events to which they refer.

proved more warlike than the Messenians, and their brave resistance forced the Lacedæmonians to abandon the hope of conquering Peloponnese and to adopt instead a federal policy, — a policy of making treaties of permanent peace and alliance with the states about them. Tegea united with Sparta, and the other Arcadian communities followed its example. Elis was already in the league, and Corinth and Sicyon joined it soon after the overthrow of their tyrants. The federation thus formed we shall term the Peloponnesian League. By the middle of the sixth century B.C., Sparta had united all Peloponnese except Achæa and Argolis under her leadership.

Sparta and Argolis, about 550 B.C.

About this time the Lacedæmonians were quarrelling with the Argives for the possession of Cynuria, which was within the limits of Argolis, but which had been seized by the Lacedæmonians. Argolis then included the entire strip of coast country east of Mt. Parnon, and, in addition, the island of Cythera. Now it was for the possession of this strip of land that the two states were contending. But before any battle was fought, the parties agreed that three hundred Spartans and three hundred Argives should fight for the place. The other troops on each side were to go home so as not to be drawn into the contest. The battle began, and so equally were the combatants matched and so fierce was the struggle, that at the close of the day only three men were left alive, two Argives and a single Spartan. The Argives, regarding themselves as the victors, hurried home to tell the news, while the Spartan, remaining on the field, stripped the bodies of his fallen enemies and carried their armor into the Spartan camp. After some disputing as to which side gained the victory, it was at length decided in favor of Sparta. Thereupon the Argives, who up to that time had worn their hair long,

Hdt. i, 82.

cut it off close, and made a law, to which they attached a curse, binding themselves never more to let their hair grow, and never to allow their women to wear gold, until they should recover Cynuria. The Lacedæmonian state was now the largest in all Greece, including, as it did, Laconia, Messenia, and the newly acquired Cynuria; and in addition to this, it was the acknowledged head of the Peloponnesian League.

This league had no common federal constitution, such as that of the United States, but each community had its own treaty with Lacedæmon. Deputies from the allied states met in a congress to settle questions of war and peace; and the states furnished troops to serve in war under the Lacedæmonian kings. They did not pay tribute to Sparta, but divided among themselves the expenses of the league, which were always light. Thus the states enjoyed independence and at the same time the advantages of union. Sparta desired of her allies merely that they should be governed by oligarchies; because she knew

Organization of the Peloponnesian League.

Thuc. i, 18 f.

that oligarchs would be more loyal to her than either tyrants or democrats. The states all obeyed her in this respect at first, but afterwards some of them became democratic.

Alcmeonidæ. The Peloponnesian League dates from the middle of the sixth century B.C. Towards the close of the century, Megara, after exchanging her tyranny for an oligarchy, joined it, thus bringing the Lacedæmonian power to the
P. 75. borders of Attica. But the Pisistratidæ, who looked upon the Lacedæmonian kings as their friends, little suspected
P. 72. interference from that quarter. Their bitterest and most dangerous enemies were the noble exiles. Among these were the Alcmeonidæ, one of the wealthiest and most influential families of Greece, led now by Cleisthenes,
P. 64 f. grandson of the famous tyrant of Sicyon. As the temple of Apollo at Delphi was accidentally burned during their exile, the Alcmeonidæ undertook to rebuild it far more splendidly than the council of the Delphic amphictyony had
Hdt. v, 63; Arist. *Ath. Const.* 19. planned. Through their liberality to Apollo they gained control of his oracle, so that whenever the Spartans sent to consult it on any subject whatever, the reply was always the same: "Athens must be set free." At last the Lacedæmonians, in obedience to the oracle, invaded Attica in concert with the Athenian exiles, and expelled Hippias.
510 B.C. He went to Sigeium where some of his kinsfolk were,
P. 75. and immediately began to intrigue with the Persian authorities with a view to recovering his lost power.

Cleisthenes and Isagoras. The nobles who had returned with Cleisthenes from banishment took possession of the government, and began to rule in lordly style. They disfranchised a great number
Cf. pp. 54, 71; Arist. *Ath. Const.* 13. of Athenians, all those apparently whose ancestors had received the citizenship from Solon and Pisistratus. But Cleisthenes, their chief, soon met a powerful rival in Isago-

ras, leader of those friends of Hippias who still remained in the country. As Isagoras was elected to the Archonship for the year 508 B.C., Cleisthenes, the defeated candidate, offered to restore the franchise to the commons in return for their support; for up to this time they had taken no part in the contest. Cleomenes, king of the Lacedæmonians, then came to Athens to help Isagoras in the quarrel; but the people, indignant at his interference, rose in arms, under the lead of the Council of Four Hundred, and compelled him to depart from the country. Isagoras stole away with the Spartan king, and Cleisthenes then proceeded to fulfil his promise to the commons. First he divided Attica into more than a hundred demes, or townships. These he grouped in ten tribes in such a way that the townships of a tribe were not all together, but some of them in the Hills, others in the Plain, and still others in the Shore. His object in creating new tribes was to do away with distinctions of rank; for the nobles had controlled the old tribes, but the commons were on a level with them in the new. His purpose in distributing the demes of a tribe among the three sections of Attica was twofold: (1) The citizens who lived in or near Athens had a great advantage in politics over the rest because it was more convenient for them to attend the assembly; and so Cleisthenes arranged that every tribe should have a third of its people near the city, that they might represent it fairly in the assembly. Had some of the tribes been situated wholly near the city and others wholly distant, those which were near would have ruled the rest. (2) By dividing the Shore, Plain, and Hills equally among the ten tribes, he destroyed their political organizations, and thus put an end to the strife between them. Cleisthenes was successful in all his plans; the people were thereafter more nearly

Cleisthenes reforms the government, 508 B.C.

Tribes and demes.

Hdt. v, 66; Arist. *Ath. Const.* 21 f.

equal than they had been before, and sectional warfare entirely ceased.

Character of the deme.

Every Athenian who lived in a deme at the time of its organization was enrolled in its register as a "demesman," and therefore as a citizen of Athens. Many, too, who had not before possessed the franchise, including emancipated slaves, were registered as citizens. As a man could not transfer his membership from one deme to another, even by a change of residence, the deme was not simply territorial, like the modern township, but had in addition something of the character of a family. The deme was a little democracy with officers, an assembly of citizens, a religion, and almost everything to correspond with the government of the state itself.

Councils.

The Council of Four Hundred was enlarged to Five Hundred. Members were drawn by lot, fifty from each tribe, in such a way as to represent the demes according to their population. It supervised the whole business of government, and prepared measures for presentation to the assembly. The Council of the Areopagus contained at this time many of the tyrants' friends, who had entered it through the Archonship, and who were hostile to the new government. Cleisthenes, therefore, found no place of honor for it in his new arrangements; yet in the next thirty years popular elections filled it with energetic patriots, who restored to it much of its lost influence. The popular supreme court and the assembly remained essentially as they had been under Solon. There were each year perhaps ten sessions of the assembly; but usually few attended except on election days, as they received no pay for this duty, and the average Athenian could not afford to neglect his work without compensation. The assembly, besides electing magistrates, decided such important ques-

Popular supreme court and assembly.

tions as those of war and peace. Laws were still made, so far as we know, either by the six ordinary "legislators," or by a single extraordinary legislator, such as Cleisthenes himself. The magistrates had about the same duties as before. The number of generals was increased soon after Cleisthenes' legislation to ten, — probably from four, — and each of these had command of the regiment of infantry furnished by his own tribe, while the board of ten generals, with the polemarch as chairman, directed military affairs.

Legislation.

Magistrates.

Cleisthenes introduced a peculiar institution termed "ostracism." The word is derived from *ostrakon*, piece of pottery, which was the form of ballot used in the process. Once a year, if the Council of Five Hundred and the assembly saw fit, the citizens met and voted against any of their number whom they deemed dangerous to the state. If the archons found, on counting the votes, that there were at least six thousand in all, they sent the man who had received the greatest number into exile for ten years. The purpose of ostracism was as follows. Strife between political parties before Cleisthenes often took the form of civil war, in which the victors destroyed or banished the weaker side. Solon had regarded such dissensions as a necessary evil, and had encouraged the people, by means of his law against neutrality in seditions, to take part in them; but Cleisthenes through ostracism substituted voting for civil war, and required the banishment of the defeated leader only, in place of the entire party. As the Athenian noble lacked respect for the government, he would not, when defeated in his candidacy for office, submit to the will of the majority, but preferred rather in defiance of law to destroy his more fortunate rival. Ostracism removed the dangerous man from the community, and left at the

Ostracism.

P. 55.

head of the state the one whom the people believed to be the best and the ablest.

Results.

The chief reforms of Cleisthenes were (1) the new territorial arrangements, including the equalization of nobles and commons in the tribes and demes; and (2) ostracism. Though the government still had some aristocratic features, such as its property requirements for the higher offices and its unpaid public services, yet it was on the whole a democracy.

Athens and her neighbors.

While these constitutional changes were taking place, the state came into great danger from its neighbors. King Cleomenes repented his expulsion of Hippias, and as he thought that Athens under a despot would be more submissive to him, he planned to make his friend Isagoras tyrant. So he gathered the forces of Peloponnese, and, without stating his object, led them into Attica, while at the same time the Thebans and Chalcidians invaded the country in concert with him. The Athenians, though inferior in number, marched bravely forth to meet the Peloponnesians at Eleusis. Fortunately for Athens, the Corinthians, on learning the purpose of the expedition, refused to take part in it on the ground that it was unjust, and the other allies followed their example. As Cleomenes could then do nothing but retreat homeward, the Athenians turned about and defeated the Thebans and Chalcidians separately on the same day. They punished Chalcis for the invasion by taking from her a large tract of land, on which they settled four thousand colonists.

An Athenian colony.

An Athenian colony was but an addition to Attica; and though it had a local government, its members remained citizens of Athens.

Attempt to restore Hippias.

The change from tyranny to popular government filled the Athenians with a patriotic enthusiasm and an energy

ÆGINA

(Temple of Athena in the distance.)

which must have astonished their neighbors. When the Lacedæmonians saw them gaining power and independence, they invited Hippias to their city, called a congress of allies, and proposed to restore him. But the deputy from Corinth interposed in favor of Athens, and, according to Herodotus, made the following speech in the congress: "Surely the heavens will soon be below and the earth above, and men will henceforth live in the sea and fish take their place upon the dry land, since you, Lacedæmonians, propose to put down free governments in the cities of Greece and set up tyrannies in their room. There is nothing in the whole world so unjust, nothing so bloody, as a tyranny. If, however, it seems desirable to have the cities under a despotic rule, begin by putting a tyrant over yourselves, and then establish despots in the other states. While you continue yourselves, as you always have been, unacquainted with tyranny, and take excellent care that Sparta may not suffer from it, to act as you are now doing is to treat your allies unworthily. If you knew what tyranny was as well as ourselves, you would be better advised than you are now in regard to it. . . . We Corinthians marvelled greatly when we first knew of your having sent for Hippias, and now it surprises us still more to hear you speak as you do. We adjure you by the common gods of Greece, plant not despots in her cities. If, however, you persist against all justice in seeking to restore Hippias, — know at least that the Corinthians will not approve your conduct." As the other allies agreed with the speaker, Hippias returned disappointed to Sigeium, and renewed his plots with the Persians against his native land.

Hdt. v, 66, 78.

Hdt. v, 91 ff.

The Athenians were at this time engaged in a distressing war with Ægina; the enemy were continually ravaging their coasts, and as they had no fleet, they could do nothing to

prevent it. But they secured their peace with Sparta by entering the Peloponnesian League. Their place in it was exceptionally favorable, as it allowed them complete independence.

Thuc. vi, 82.

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"SAPPHO"
(National Museum, Rome.)

## CHAPTER V

### THE GROWTH OF NATIONAL UNITY THROUGH LITERATURE AND RELIGION (700–479 B.C.)

THE Bœotian poet Hesiod tells us that one day when he was herding sheep on the slopes of Mount Helicon, the Muses came to him and said, "Houseless shepherd, we can tell falsehoods which seem true, but we know how to speak the real truth when we will;" and thus they persuaded him to be a poet of truth. Homer had idealized everything of which he sang, his aim being to entertain; but Hesiod's mission was to teach. He composed an epic poem called the *Theogony*, which told in homely style of the birth of the gods and of the creation of the world, — a Greek book of Genesis. He wrote, too, the *Works and Days*, an epic which taught morals and agriculture and served at the same time as an almanac. It aimed chiefly to give the peasant

Hesiod, about 700 B.C.

P. 11.

useful information. "How could he best use the winter and spring, so as to earn his rest in summer when artichokes ripen and the cicala sings, when fat kids and temperate
Jebb, p. 41. cups refresh the sun-scorched toiler? When should the axle-tree of a wagon be made, and what is the best wood for a plough-tail or a pole? How are the cattle to be kept fit for work? What is the best way of drying grapes? And last, not least, what are the lucky or unlucky days of the month for doing these things?"

As these poems were composed perhaps about 700 B.C., they belong to a later age than the most of Homer's poetry.
P. 15. The king had given way to the nobles, whose merciless oppression was driving the Bœotian peasants to despair. The population was so rapidly increasing that men found it difficult to make a living; and as Bœotia engaged neither in commerce nor in colonization, the poet Hesiod could only advise his countrymen to seek a remedy for their distress in greater frugality and in more intelligent farming.

The Lyric Age and the awakening of the Greek mind, 700–479 B.C.

The Greeks in the time of Homer had indeed done little thinking for themselves. In the poet's language, they were sheep and the king was their shepherd. But in the new age, not only did commerce and colonization stimulate men to thought, but also the aristocracy, bringing with it political discord and storm, forced them to exercise their judgment in taking a party attitude. The aristocrats found it hard to maintain themselves against the tyrant on the one hand, and the fierce democracy on the other. Life was full of excitement for the noble, as the perils of war hung continually over his head, and he lived with his hand on his sword or on the drinking-cup. His surroundings compelled him to assert himself; and at the same time, various questions as to the nature of man, of society, of God, of right and wrong, and of the physical world pressed

him for answers. As his mind became too active and his thoughts too complex for the simple old epic forms, he created a new kind of literature,— personal poetry, adapted to his needs. Thus a new age in literature began in Hesiod's time which lasted for more than two centuries, — about 700–479 B.C. It is sometimes called the Lyric Age, because lyric poetry, a kind of personal poetry, was the chief form of literature produced in it. And as the Greeks were at the same time beginning to think actively and to lay the foundations of science and philosophy, we may also call this the period of the awakening of the Greek mind.

The elegy is the earliest form of personal poetry. It arose in Ionia and was originally martial, sung to the flute, which resembled the modern clarionet. One of the earliest elegiac poets was Callinus of Ephesus, born about 690 B.C. In battle-songs he roused his countrymen against the Cimmerians, who were invaders of Ionia from the country north of the Black Sea. The elegy. Callinus.

> Each must go quick to the front,
> Grasping his spear in his hand and under his shield his untrembling
> Heart pressing, panting for fight, mingling in deadliest fray.

A little later, Tyrtæus of Sparta, already mentioned, composed songs of the same nature. P. 62.

The next form of personal poetry was the iambic, especially adapted to the expression of emotions, from love to sarcasm and hate. Its great master was Archilochus of the small island of Paros, a poet whom the Greeks ranked with Homer. He was intensely personal, and resembled Lord Byron in his love of exhibiting his frailties to the public. He was the first great satirist. The story goes that a certain Lycambes promised his daughter, Neobule, to Archilochus in marriage, but broke his word; and then Iambic poetry. Archilochus.

in revenge the poet with his biting iambics drove Neobule and her sisters to suicide.

Lyric poetry proper.

The last and highest form of personal poetry is the lyric, — the song accompanied by the lyre. The lyric poet composed the music as well as the words of his songs. There were two chief forms of this poetry: the ballad and the choral ode. The home of the ballad was Lesbos, and its great representatives were the Lesbic poets, Alcæus and Sappho, who belonged to the early part of the sixth century B.C. Alcæus passed his life under the hottest fire of political warfare, fighting almost constantly against tyrants, democrats, or foreign enemies. Mahaffy calls him "an unprincipled, violent, lawless aristocrat, who sacrificed all and everything to the demands of pleasure and power." Sappho was his peer in genius, though her poetry was of narrower range. To the ancients she was "the poetess" as Homer was "the poet"; and sometimes they styled her the "tenth muse."

Alcæus.

Sappho.

The choral ode.

Ballads were simple songs of personal experience or feeling sung by individuals; but the choral ode was public and was sung by a trained chorus, who accompanied the music with dancing. Alcman of Sparta composed the first poetry of this kind. Because of its public nature, the choral ode readily lent itself to the treatment of subjects which interested all the Greeks alike, and hence it was the first form of poetry, after the epic, to become national in spirit. The Greeks were beginning in this age to think of one another as kinsmen, as members of the same great family, and Greece was, accordingly, summoning her inspired men to give expression to the unity of her national life. Simonides of Ceos, an author of choral odes, who was born in this age and lived far down into the next, was a thoroughly national lyrist. Poets of his class travelled

Pp. 63, 69.

Simonides, 556–468 B.C.

about Greece, visiting the courts of tyrants or of great nobles and composing for those who would pay them liberal fees. But Simonides, though he turned his genius to earning a livelihood in this manner, was nevertheless intensely patriotic; and so it was that when in his old age the Greeks had fought for their liberty against the Persians and had gained it, they called upon him to write epitaphs for the patriots who had fallen in battle, and in later time looked back to him as to one inspired.[1]

Now while Simonides faced the future and took pleasure in thinking how great his country would one day be, his younger contemporary, the priestly Pindar of Bœotia, turned to the past and filled his mind with myths and religious lore. A thorough aristocrat, he loved the old heaven-born nobility, but would write even for merchant prince or tyrant who offered him a generous fee. His style and rhythms are exceedingly complex; the music which accompanied his odes has been lost, and without the music the full effects of Pindar's poetry cannot be appreciated. "The glory of his song has passed forever from the world with the sound of the rolling harmonies on which it once was born, with the splendor of rushing chariots and athletic forms around which it threw its radiance, with the white-pillared cities of the Ægean or Sicilian sea in which it wrought its spell, with the beliefs or joys which it ennobled; but those who love his poetry, and who strive to enter into its high places, can still know that they breathe a pure and bracing air, and can still feel vibrating through a clear,

Pindar, 522–448 B.C.

Jebb, p. 68.

[1] A nephew of Simonides, Bacchylides by name, who for centuries has been almost unknown, is generally classed as a lyric poet of the second rank; but the recent discovery of a manuscript containing several of his odes intact and many fragments brings him into great prominence.

calm sky the strong pulse of the eagle's wings as he soars with steady eyes against the sun." His most famous poems, which alone have come down to us, are his choral odes in honor of the victors in the great national games.

Greece had many poets.

Though Simonides and Pindar were the most eminent of the lyric poets, there were many besides these, and they flourished in all parts of Greece. Obscure islands and remote shores as well as the great centres of political activity had their lyrists, who in many instances composed beautiful songs. But the works of some have utterly perished; of others we have mere shreds. Pindar and Bacchylides have had the best fortune of all, for the odes which represent them at their best have survived.

Poetry and philosophy.

Greek philosophy developed from poetry. The poets of this age were themselves thinkers and sought for the causes of things, but found them only in the agency of the gods. For instance, to explain the changes in the seasons, they told the story of Demeter and her daughter, Persephone. Demeter was a goddess who lived with the great deities on Mount Olympus. One day her daughter and other maidens were gathering flowers in a meadow, and were picking roses and lilies which they found growing in clusters, when Persephone ran apart from her friends to pluck a beautiful narcissus which stood at a distance alone. She was just reaching out her hand to take the flower when the earth opened near her, and from the cleft came a gloomy-faced man in a chariot drawn by black horses. He immediately seized Persephone, and, placing her in the seat beside himself, drove down through the gulf into the earth. The strange man was Hades, king of the dead; and in this manner he was taking Persephone to be his wife and queen. But Demeter, finding that her child was lost and not knowing whither she had gone, wandered up

Sorrows of Demeter.

and down the earth seeking her daughter night and day. In her grief and anger, she forbade the fruits and crops to grow and made the whole earth cold and barren. But after a time Persephone got permission of her lord to re-

A GREEK VASE
(Demeter, Persephone, and Triptolemus.)

turn to her mother for a brief season. Demeter was so glad to see her child again that her joy made the earth warm and caused the trees to put forth their leaves and the grass and wheat to grow. Then Zeus and Hades agreed that Persephone should remain with her mother two-thirds of the year and the other third with her husband. The joy of Demeter in having Persephone with her caused the spring and summer, while her sorrow for the absence of her daughter through the remaining months brought the winter. The poets supposed, too, just as the uneducated people did, that heaven remained above the earth only because a giant supported it on his shoulders. "Atlas, the

Atlas, the Titan.

Æschylus, *Prometheus*, 425 ff.

Titan, tamed under torturing bonds of adamant, sustains on his back, with heavy groans, the vast weight of the revolving heavens. And the ocean surge roars in cadence, the abyss beneath moans, and the dark recess of the gloomy region of the dead rumbles under the earth, yea, the very springs of the clear-flowing rivers wail in pity for his pain." In a similar way they tried to explain everything in nature; but as they believed that the gods were constantly quarreling and fighting among themselves, they could have no idea of the harmony of the universe. The philosophers advanced beyond the poets (1) in seeking natural causes for everything and (2) in believing that the world was a unit. The early philosophers usually expressed their thoughts in verse, as there was almost no prose literature in their time; and so the philosopher did not seem at first to be very different from the poet.

The philosophers.

Thales, about 600 B.C.

It was in Miletus, the centre of Greek civilization in this period, that Thales, the first Greek philosopher, lived. As his prime of life began with the sixth century, he was a younger contemporary of Solon. He was something of a mathematician and astronomer, the first of the Greeks to predict accurately an eclipse of the sun. He was one of the "seven sages,"[1] a many-sided, practical philosopher of the Ben Franklin type, famous for his wise saws. He believed that water was the one original substance out of which the world was formed. His idea was wrong, but in seeking for a natural cause and in thinking that the world was a unit, that is, made of one substance, he achieved more than the poets had done. He and his followers com-

[1] About 600 B.C. there were several men in Greece who taught practical morals by means of short maxims, as "Know thyself," "Nothing too much," and "It is hard to be good." They were called the "seven sages," though their number was really indefinite.

posed the "Ionian School" of philosophy. This school may be described as materialistic, since it sought the cause of all things in some material substance.

Pythagoras of Samos, who went to live in Croton in Italy, founded there a new school of philosophy, which came to be called Pythagorean, after himself. He made thought more scientific by laying stress on mathematics. Number was to him the primary idea and cause of all things; but his especial fault was attaching to numbers a mystical power unknown to true science. His followers formed, not merely a school, but a political and religious sect as well. They were pledged to live austere lives, to abstain from animal food, and to perform a multitude of rituals. They came to have great political influence, and their societies, or brotherhoods, gained control of the government of several cities in southern Italy. Pythagoras. P. 143.

Xenophanes of Colophon founded in Elea of Italy a third school of philosophy, called the Eleatic school. He taught that all things were a unit and that the unit was God. The Eleatics were the first to study metaphysics, — the science which aims to discover the nature of *being*. The ablest man of their school was Parmenides, who lived far down into the fifth century. According to their theory, there could be no real change or motion in nature; the senses were simply deceived as to these things. But Heracleitus of Ephesus, who founded a school of his own, declared in opposition to the Eleatics that everything was in a state of movement and flow, of continual growth and decay, and thus he set forth evolution as his primary idea.[1] All these systems of philosophy were founded by Ionians; and all had their origin in the sixth century, Xenophanes and the Eleatics. Heracleitus.

[1] From this it is evident that evolution is by no means a distinctly modern idea.

except that of Heracleitus, who began to teach about 500 B.C.

Morals and religion.

Poets and philosophers were the teachers of the age, and under their guidance the Greeks were improving in morals and religion as well as in science. The world was growing better. The people of Homer's time had looked upon virtue as physical excellence,— for instance, the beauty of a woman or the strength of a man,— and had regarded it simply as a gift of the gods; but now virtue was coming to mean moral excellence, which could be acquired through effort. A man should not permit himself to be blindly swayed by passions and the force of circumstances, but should exercise "self-restraint" and "moderation." These two words contain, indeed, the chief commandments which the Greek imposed upon himself. In this connection it is worth noticing that of all peoples the Greeks were earliest in learning to live according to the dictates of their reason, and that this great achievement was the outcome of their culture. They never would have become fit for freedom or able to govern themselves in states, had not each individual striven of his own free will to develop a well-balanced character.

Humanity and peace.

The world was growing more humane. The harsh law of war had in Homer's time brought death to the conquered; but in the present age the victors usually spared their captives, though they reduced them to slavery. Neighboring states in earlier times had been constantly at war, but were now beginning to make treaties with one another so as to dwell together for years in peace. Most governments, too, were securing peace within their borders by establishing courts, as those of Draco at Athens, with full power to try and punish offenders. The family as well as the state was improving. Formerly men had obtained

P. 47.

their wives by capture or purchase, and were in either case their owners; but these barbarous customs now died out, and women consequently ceased to be the slaves of their husbands. At no other time were they socially and intellectually so nearly equal to men; no other period produced a Sappho.

Deepening religion.

It was an age of deep religious feeling. Men were so purifying their notions of the gods as to consider them morally perfect. A few thinkers, as Xenophanes of Colophon, became sceptical because they could not believe certain stories told of the gods by Homer, stories which represented them with all the evil passions and vices of men. Others continued to accept the stories but regarded them as allegories. Though most men were still untouched by scepticism, the old beliefs failed to satisfy their religious needs. New forms of worship of deeper meaning were accordingly introduced, such as the Orphic mysteries and the Eleusinian mysteries. The former came, it was asserted, from the Thracian Orpheus, a mythical prophet and musician, and centred in the worship of Dionysus. The priests of Orpheus travelled throughout Greece making converts and initiating them into the mysteries. Those who accepted this faith looked forward with hope to a future life, and were given power through prayer, as they believed, to raise up the souls of others from the agonies of Tartarus.[1]

Eleusinian mysteries.

Pind. *Olymp.* vi.

P. 92.

The Eleusinian mysteries had their chief seat in sacred Eleusis, a city of Attica. They were concerned with the worship of Demeter, "whose footsteps make red the corn," and of her daughter Persephone, goddess of the world beneath. The great Eleusinian festival was held in September of each year. All the Athenians, the magistrates

[1] A pit in Hades where men were punished for especial wickedness in this world.

and priests in their official robes, the citizens in their holiday attire, took part in a grand procession along the Sacred Way from Athens to Eleusis. There with public ceremonies they celebrated Demeter, goddess of agriculture and author of their civilization; and the initiated attended in secret to the mystic rites of her service. Among the mysteries was a passion play which exhibited the grief of Demeter when her daughter was taken from her to Hades and the joy of receiving her back. Such, her worshippers thought, were the sorrows of death and the joys of reunion in the world beyond the grave. All Greeks, men and women, slaves and freemen, had equal rights to initiation, and thus the Eleusinian worship was a national bond of union among the Hellenes.

Holm, i, p. 410 f.

Future life.

Men were gaining a clearer conception of a future life with its rewards and punishments; the Elysian fields of Pindar were even brighter than those of Homer's day. "There round the islands of the blest the ocean breezes blow, and golden flowers are glowing, some from the land on trees of splendor, and some the water feedeth, with wreaths whereof they entwine their hands. In sunlight night and day, the good receive in that new world an unlaborious life; those who had pleasure in keeping oaths live tearless with the honored of the gods." But "of all who die the guilty souls pay penalty; for all the sins sinned in this realm of Zeus one judgeth under earth, pronouncing sentence by unloved constraint."

P. 16 f.

Pind. *Olymp.* ii.

Soothsaying and oracles.

A mark of deepening religion was the growth of soothsaying and of oracles. Soothsayers professed to discover the will of the gods through the flight of birds or from examining the entrails of victims offered in sacrifice. But in questions of great importance the inquirer sent to an oracle for wisdom from heaven. In the venerable shrine of Zeus at

Dodona in Epeirus men heard the voice of the god in the rustling of the oak leaves. But the oracle of Apollo at Delphi became of far greater historic importance. High up in a ravine at the southern base of Parnassus, in the midst

Oracle of Apollo.

DELPHI WITH MODERN VILLAGE

of magnificent and solemn mountain scenery, stood a temple of Apollo. Within was a fissure in the earth through which volcanic vapor issued inspiring the Pythia, or prophetess of Apollo, who sat over it on a tripod. In ecstasy from the vapor, she muttered something in reply to questions; a priest standing near wrote out her utterance, and gave it to the questioner as the word of Zeus delivered to man through his son Apollo. "There on the holy tripod sits the Delphian priestess, chanting to the ears of Hellas in numbers loud, whate'er Apollo doth proclaim."

Euripides, *Ion*, 91 ff.

This shrine was once merely the centre of a religious league of neighboring tribes. A council of deputies from

Influence of the oracle of Apollo.

the tribes watched over the interests of the oracle, and
P. 66. could declare a "sacred war" upon offenders against Apollo. Yet little good came from this power, as it was generally abused by the stronger members of the league for their own selfish ends. The oracle soon extended its influ-

APOLLO BELVEDERE
(Vatican Museum. This statue belongs to the Hellenistic Age, cf. p. 23.)

ence beyond the league till it came to be national. Apollo then became the purifier of guilt for all Hellas, and the expounder of religious and of moral law; he even gave his sanction to political measures; he watched over the calendar, and was the guide and patron of colonists. His advice was sought by individuals and by states on both private and public matters. His fame extended beyond Greece, and some foreign nations acknowledged him as their high-

est religious authority. "The institution of temples and sacrifices, and the entire service of the gods, demigods, and heroes, the burial of the dead, and the worship of those who dwell in the world below are matters of which we are ourselves ignorant, and should be unwise in trusting them to any one but to our ancestral deity. He is the god who sits in the centre of the earth and is the interpreter of religion to all mankind." Those who sought his favor sent him presents till his treasuries were full of wealth. The Delphic priests, who were the real authors of the oracles, kept themselves acquainted with current events that they might give intelligent advice; but when necessary to preserve the credit of Apollo, they offered double-meaning prophecies so as to be right in any event. In moral questions their influence was usually wholesome, as they preferred to advise just and moderate conduct. But sometimes the oracle was bribed, sometimes it lent its aid to the schemes of politicians, and in the war of independence which the Greeks fought against Persia it lost favor by being unpatriotic. Notwithstanding all its shortcomings, it was a bond of union among the Hellenes, for in thinking of Apollo as their common prophet, they thought of one another as members of the same great religious society.

Plato, *Republic*, 427 B. f.

P. 131.

Another institution which helped the Greeks think alike and act together was the great national games. There were four of these: held at Olympia, Nemea, on the Isthmus of Corinth, and at Delphi, each in honor of the chief god of the place. The Olympian games were the most splendid. They began in the earliest times as a merely local festival; but gradually more distant communities joined in them, till all the Hellenes took part, and thus they became national. Once in four years a vast number of Greeks from all the shores of the Mediterranean gathered on the banks

The great national games.

Olympian games.

of the Alpheius in Elis to see the competitions. The month in which the games were held was proclaimed a holy season, during which all Hellas ought to be at peace with itself. The multitude encamped about the sacred enclosure of Zeus, the great god of Olympia. "Merchants set up their booths, and money-changers their tables, all classes of artists tried to collect audiences and admirers, crowds attended the exercises of the athletes who were in training, or admired the practice of the horses and chariots which were entered for the races. Heralds recited treaties, military or commercial, recently formed between Greek cities, in order that they might be more widely known."

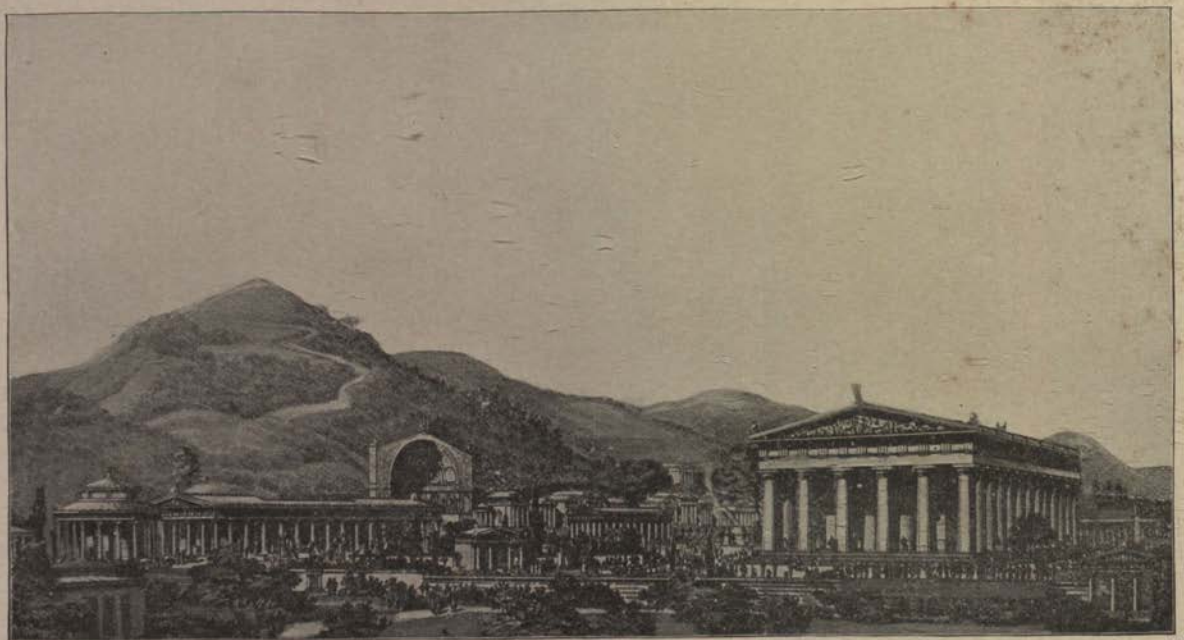
P. Gardner, p. 275 f.

ATHLETE

(After Lysippus, a contemporary of Alexander the Great. Vatican Museum.)

The competitors in the games must be Greeks of good character and religious standing and of sufficient athletic training. The judges of the games examined the qualifications of candidates, and at the end bestowed the wreath of victory. There were contests in running, leaping, discus-throwing, spear-hurling, wrestling, boxing, and racing of horses and chariots. Modern athletic competitions bring home

The contests.



OLYMPIA

(Reconstruction.)

to us in some measure the intense energy of the contestants, the glory of victory, and the irresistible waves of enthusiasm in the audience at Olympia. But we miss the beautiful bare forms of the Greek athletes, the artistic and religious setting of the games — the splendid temple and the multitude of statues; we miss, too, the Greek sky, the national interest, the historic associations, and the grand triumphal music of the Pindaric ode which greeted the victor on his stately entrance into his native city.[1]

Influence of the games.

Such contests promoted art. The Greek sculptor drew his inspiration from the epic poet's ideals of the gods, but found his best models among the athletes. These great national games also fostered commerce, peace, and unity. In this age, accordingly, Greece was becoming one in spirit and in sympathy; and its people began for the first time to call themselves, in distinction from foreigners, by one common name — "Hellenes."[2]

### Sources

Reading.

For literature the extant works of the poets themselves, as Hesiod, Tyrtæus, and Pindar; for philosophy, Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Ancient Philosophers;* for the games, Pindar, *Odes.*

### Modern Authorities

**Curtius,** *History of Greece,* II, bk. ii, ch. iv, the best general treatment of the entire subject; **Holm,** *History of Greece,* I, chs. xix, xxiv;

[1] As this description of the games is intended to be quite general, it does not apply in every detail to the period between 700 and 479 B.C.

[2] The Greeks had no common name before the seventh century B.C. That they were called Pelasgians and then Achæans before they were called Hellenes is only an assumption of some of the Greeks themselves who attempted in an uncritical way to reconstruct their early history. The name "Greek" appears to have applied at first to an obscure tribe in Epeirus, but was made by the Romans to include the whole Hellenic race.

Abbott, *History of Greece*, II, ch. i; Grote, *History of Greece*, IV, chs. xxviii, xxix; Timayenis, *History of Greece*, I, pt. ii, ch. vi; **Mahaffy**, *Survey of Greek Civilization*, chs. iii, iv; *Social Life in Greece*, chs. iv, v; *History of Greek Literature*, I, chs. vii, x–xiii; Jebb, *Greek Literature* (primer), ch. iii; Murray, *Ancient Greek Literature*, chs. ii, iv; Mayor, *Ancient Philosophy*, pp. 1–16; Marshall, *Short History of Greek Philosophy*, chs. i–v; Tarbell, *History of Greek Art*, chs. iii–vi; E. A. Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, ch. ii.

# CHAPTER VI

## CONQUEST OF ASIATIC GREECE BY THE LYDIANS AND THE PERSIANS (560–490 B.C.)

Crœsus, 560–546 B.C.

IN the year in which Pisistratus seized the government at Athens, Crœsus became king of Lydia in Asia Minor. His country had broad, fertile valleys and an abundance of gold in the sands of its rivers; and though it was wholly without a sea-coast, the Lydians traded overland with Asia and with Ionia. Already in Crœsus' time they had become wealthy and refined, so that people began to call them the "delicate" Lydians, but still they were excellent knights. Crœsus' father, Alyattes, had extended his kingdom on all sides by subduing his neighbors, and the son now tried to outdo his father as a great lord. Crœsus admired the Greeks and wished to have them as willing subjects; but as they resisted, he felt compelled to wage war upon them. First he attacked Ephesus, one of their largest cities; but the Ephesians, finding themselves unable to withstand him, dedicated their whole city to the goddess Artemis by stretching a rope from their wall to her temple, nearly a mile distant. As Crœsus respected the Greek religion, he stayed the attack and permitted Ephesus to enter his empire on favorable terms. In the course of time he conquered all the other Greek cities of Asia Minor.

Hdt. *i*, 6 ff.

Conquest of Asiatic Greece.

He was aided in his task by the character of the Asiatic Greeks. We have seen how they surpassed their western kinsmen in enterprise and in culture. First epic and then

Character of the Asiatic Greeks.

Pp. 10, 89.

P. 94. lyric poetry flourished among them. Philosophy and science were born in Miletus. The luxuries and refinements of life, along with commerce, manufacturing, and the coining of money, spread from the Ionian cities westward over Greece. But the Ionians, though admirable for their many excellent qualities, were lacking in political ability. There was civil strife within the cities, and almost continual war between one state and another. Cities and men had their own ideals and pursued their own plans, regardless of the interests of the country as a whole. Though united in a religious league, the communities rarely acted together, and could not think of joining in one strong state. They loved complete independence for their towns and enjoyed the privilege of making war on their neighbors as the diversion of a summer; yet they were a commercial people, not fond of long-continued military service. If the day chanced to be warm, they preferred sitting in the shade to training for battle in defence of their liberties. Their character was their political ruin. It is no wonder that they proved inferior to the empires of Asia, based as these were on unthinking submission to one all-controlling will.

Hdt. vi, 12 f.

Crœsus favors the Greeks.

But Crœsus ruled the Greeks well, as he sought to gain their favor and support against the rising power of Persia. He stole his way into their affections by making costly presents to their gods, especially to Apollo at Delphi. He courted the friendship of Lacedæmon, the strongest state in Greece, and gave the Spartans gold with which to make a statue of Apollo. Under Crœsus, Lydia reached its height in wealth and power. His treasury was full of gold-dust from the sands of the Lydian rivers and of tributes from the cities he had conquered; and as he was the wealthiest he supposed himself to be the happiest man on earth. His empire had come to include all Asia Minor

i, 27-33.

west of the Halys River; but it was destined soon to become a part of the far vaster Persian empire, and the happy monarch was doomed to end his life in captivity.

Crœsus had ruled Lydia but two years when Cyrus became king of a small part of Persia, then a province in the Median empire. But Cyrus was too great for these narrow limits, and his Persian subjects were as brave and strong as mountaineers usually are. "They wore leathern clothing; they ate not the food which they liked, but rather that which they could obtain from their rugged country; they drank water instead of wine, and had no figs for dessert nor any other good thing." Cyrus threw off the Median yoke, rapidly conquered the Median empire, and made Persia the leading state in Asia. Babylonia, Egypt, Lacedæmon, and Lydia united against him; but Cyrus was too quick to allow his enemies to bring their forces together. He attacked Crœsus first, conquered him, and added the Lydian empire to his own.[1]

Cyrus, king of Persia, 558–529 B.C.

Hdt. i, 71.

553 B.C.

Hdt. i, 77 ff.

The Ionians, who had favored Crœsus in the war, now begged Cyrus to grant them the same terms of submission which Crœsus had given; but Cyrus angrily refused, telling the messengers who came to him from them the fable of the piper and the fishes. "There was a certain piper," he said, "who was walking one day by the seaside, when he espied some fish; so he began to pipe to them, imagining that they would come out to him upon the land. But as he found at last that his hope was vain, he took a net, and enclosing a great draught of fishes, drew them ashore. The fish then began to leap and dance; but the piper said, 'Cease your dancing now, as you did not choose to come and dance when I piped to you.'" As the Ionians now

Cyrus and the Greeks, 546 B.C.

Hdt. i, 141.

[1] Herodotus tells in an interesting story (i, 86 ff.) of Cyrus' treatment of the captive Crœsus.

saw that Cyrus would not give them good terms, they began to wall their towns, and met in council at the Pan-Ionian shrine to concert measures of defence. They first asked help of Lacedæmon. When their deputies reached Sparta, the one who was to speak dressed himself in a purple robe so as to attract as large an audience as possible; and in a long speech he besought the Lacedæmonians to come to
Hdt. i, 152. the aid of his countrymen. But it was all in vain; for the Spartans liked neither long speeches nor purple robes, and they were just then at war with Argos for the possession of
P. 78 f. Cynuria. But they showed their good-will towards their Asiatic kinsmen by warning Cyrus on his peril not to harm the Hellenic cities. "But when he received this warning from the herald, he asked some Greeks who were standing by, who these Lacedæmonians were, and what was their number, that they dared send him such a notice. When he had received their reply, he turned to the Spartan herald and said, 'I have never yet been afraid of any men who have a set place in the middle of their city, where they come together to cheat each other and to perjure them-
Hdt. i, 153. selves. If I live, the Spartans shall have trouble enough of their own to talk of, without concerning themselves about the Ionians.' Cyrus intended these words as a reproach against all the Greeks, because of their having market-places where they buy and sell, which is a custom unknown to the Persians, who never make purchases in open marts, and indeed have not in their whole country a single market-place."

Cyrus conquers the Asiatic Greeks. Now while Cyrus' lieutenant, Harpagus, began to batter down the Ionian walls, a subject of great importance came up in the Pan-Ionian council. It was plain to all thinking men that Ionia was suffering from lack of unity. The
P. 94. Milesian Thales, father of Greek philosophy, accordingly

advised the deputies in the council to merge all their cities in one, and suggested that that one be Teos because of its central location. All the Ionians should become citizens of Teos and their cities townships in it. They should continue to live where they were but should look to Teos as their only city. It was in some such way as this that the once independent communities of Attica had united to make the city of Athens. Had the Ionians followed the advice of Thales, they might have massed their strength so as to maintain their liberties. But the proposal failed, and one by one the Greek cities of Asia fell into the hands of Harpagus. Some of the inhabitants sailed away to found colonies where they could be free, but most of them submitted. Bias, an Ionian sage, advised his countrymen to migrate all together to Sardinia, but the council rejected his plan as well as that of Thales. The majority preferred political slavery to the hardships of migration and settlement in a distant land; and thus the Pan-Ionian council failed pitiably in its duty to the cities which it represented. Disunion robbed the Asiatic Greeks of their liberty, and greatly narrowed the limits of free Hellas on the east. The islanders, terror-stricken, sent in their submission. And the Asiatic Dorians behaved no better than the other Greeks. During the war in Ionia, the Dorians of Cnidus were busy in cutting off their peninsula by a channel from the mainland. Many of the workmen while thus engaged were injured in the eyes from breaking rock. On consulting the oracle at Delphi as to the cause of the misfortune, they received the following advice:—

Political failure of the Ionians.

Hdt. i, 170.

> Fence not the place with towers, nor dig the isthmus through;
> Zeus would have made your land an island had he wanted so to do.

Hdt. i, 174.

This was all the encouragement Apollo gave to the cause of Greek freedom. The men of Cnidus then ceased from

the work and submitted to Harpagus without an effort to resist.

The Persian yoke oppressive.

The Persian yoke was far more oppressive than the Lydian had been. The Persians, because they worshipped but one god,[1] felt no respect for the Greek religion with its multitude of deities. Many Greek cities of Asia Minor were already under the rule of tyrants; but Cyrus now set up tyrannies in those which were still republics. And as the tyrant depended upon the Persian king for his support, it was for his own interest to hold the city over which he ruled in subjection to his master. The Greeks had merely paid tribute to Crœsus, but were now required in addition to perform military service. Thus Cambyses, son and successor of Cyrus, compelled them to help him conquer Egypt.

Darius, 522–485 B.C.

Darius, who succeeded Cambyses and founded a new ruling family, reorganized the Persian empire. He divided it into satrapies, or provinces, each under a governor, termed satrap, and imposed upon each satrapy a fixed annual tribute. In this way he made the yoke of servitude heavier than before. Then he led a great army into Europe against the Scythians, a people who roamed about in the country north of the Danube and the Black Sea. He required the Asiatic Greeks to furnish for this expedition six hundred ships led by their tyrants. It was galling to the Greeks to perform such compulsory service, as they felt it a shame to be slaves to the Persians while their western kinsmen were free. Even some of the tyrants, voicing the spirit of their subjects, proposed to cut off Darius' return from Scythia by breaking up the bridge of boats across the Danube, which they had in their keeping. The Athenian Miltiades, ruler of Chersonese, favored the plan; but Histiæus, despot of

514 B.C.

Hdt. iv, 87.

The tyrants at the bridge.

Hdt. iv, 136 ff.

P. 76 f.

[1] They considered the god whom they worshipped good, and acknowledged in addition the existence of a principle or spirit of evil.

Miletus, persuaded the tyrants that the people would depose them if they should lose the support of the Persian king, and in this manner he led them to vote against the proposal.

The Ionic revolt, 499–494 B.C.

Hdt. v, 11–25.

Aristagoras.

Histiæus received in recognition of his loyalty an invitation to spend the rest of his days at the court of Darius in Susa, the Persian capital. To the Greek despot this meant nothing but exile, yet he must obey. His son-in-law, Aristagoras, succeeded him as ruler of Miletus. The spirit of revolt was growing among the Greeks; and Aristagoras, though unprincipled and incapable, was ready to lead them in a struggle for freedom. However, it was partly fear for his own safety which induced him to take this step; for he had promised the Persians to conquer Naxos, and had received help from them on this assurance, but he had failed in his attempt and now felt that he was liable to be punished for not keeping his word. Should he not save himself by hurrying on a revolt which he knew was threatening? Histiæus, still an unwilling guest at the court of Darius, in a secret despatch encouraged him in his plan. According to Herodotus, Histiæus "could find but one safe way, as the roads were guarded, of making his wishes known; which was by taking the trustiest of his slaves, shaving all the hair from off his head, and then pricking letters upon the skin, and waiting till the hair grew again. Thus, accordingly, he did; and as soon as ever the hair was grown, he despatched the man to Miletus, giving him no other message than this — 'When thou art come to Miletus, bid Aristagoras shave thy head, and look thereon.'"[1] All the tyrant's friends urged him to the revolt except Hecatæus. He was the earliest Greek geographer and historian. As he had travelled over the Persian empire and knew its great

Hdt. v, 35.

[1] This and many other anecdotes told by Herodotus seem improbable.

resources, he believed that the Greeks could not hope for success in the war. But Aristagoras decided to revolt, and resigned his tyranny, giving Miletus a democratic government. He then helped depose the despots of the neighboring cities, and in a few weeks all Ionia followed him in rebellion against Darius.

Beginning of the revolt, 499 B.C.

Aristagoras spent the next winter in looking about for allies. First he went to Sparta and addressed King Cleomenes as follows: "That the sons of the Ionians should be slaves instead of free is a reproach and grief most of all indeed for ourselves, but of all others most to you, inasmuch as ye are the leaders of Hellas. Now, therefore, I entreat you by the gods of Hellas to rescue from slavery the Ionians, who are your own kinsmen: and ye may easily achieve this, for the foreigners are not valiant in fight, whereas ye have attained to the highest point of valor in war: and their fighting is of this fashion, namely, with bows and arrows and a short spear, and they go into battle wearing trousers and with caps on their heads. Thus they may easily be conquered. Then, again, they who occupy that continent have good things in such quantities as not all the other nations in the world possess; first gold, then silver and bronze and embroidered garments and beasts of burden and slaves; all which ye might have for yourselves if ye so desired."[1]

Aristagoras at Sparta, 499–498 B.C.

Hdt. v, 49.

Aristagoras then proceeded to indicate the location of the various Asiatic nations on a map traced on a plate of bronze, the work probably of Hecatæus, the first the Spartans had ever seen. He tried to show how easily the Lacedæmonians could conquer the whole Persian empire. "How long a journey is it from the Ionian coast to the Persian

Cleomenes refuses help.

[1] This speech gives a truthful summary of the facts except in one particular, — the Persians were not cowardly.

capital?" Cleomenes asked. "A three months' journey," Aristagoras answered incautiously. "Guest-Friend from Miletus," the Spartan king interrupted, "get thee away from Sparta before the sun has set; for thou speakest a word which sounds not well in the ears of the Lacedæmonians, desiring to take them on a journey of three months from the sea." Cleomenes was an able and ambitious ruler, and might have gone to the aid of the Asiatic Greeks; but he imagined Aristagoras a deposed tyrant seeking selfishly his own restoration to power. The oily-tongued Ionian then tried to win him with a bribe, but was frustrated by the king's daughter, Gorgo, a child of eight or nine years of age, who exclaimed, "Father, the stranger will harm thee, if thou do not leave him and go!"

Aristagoras then went to Athens, where he found his task easier. The Athenians were near kinsmen of the Ionians and in close commercial relations with them; they were flattered, too, because Aristagoras spoke of Athens as the mother city of the many wealthy communities of Ionia. Further, it was Athens, not Sparta, that had suffered by the westward advance of Persia, for the Scythian expedition of Darius had robbed her of both Sigeium and Chersonese. And recently Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, had ordered the Athenians to take back Hippias as their tyrant, if they wished to escape destruction. They had refused, and felt, in consequence, that a state of war now existed between them and Persia. They therefore sent twenty ships to help the Ionians, and their neighbor, Eretria, through friendship for Miletus, sent five.

Aristagoras at Athens.

Hdt. v. 97.

Pp. 80, 85 f.

The allies captured and burned Sardis, but could not take the citadel. Then, as they were on their way back to Ionia, the Persians attacked and defeated them near Ephesus. This so thoroughly discouraged the Athenians that

Burning of Sardis.

they returned home and would give no more help. The fact is that Hippias had many friends among the Athenians, who were anxious to avoid further trouble with Persia by recalling the tyrant and restoring him to power. It was this party which now gained the upper hand and prevented Athens from giving any more assistance to the Ionians.

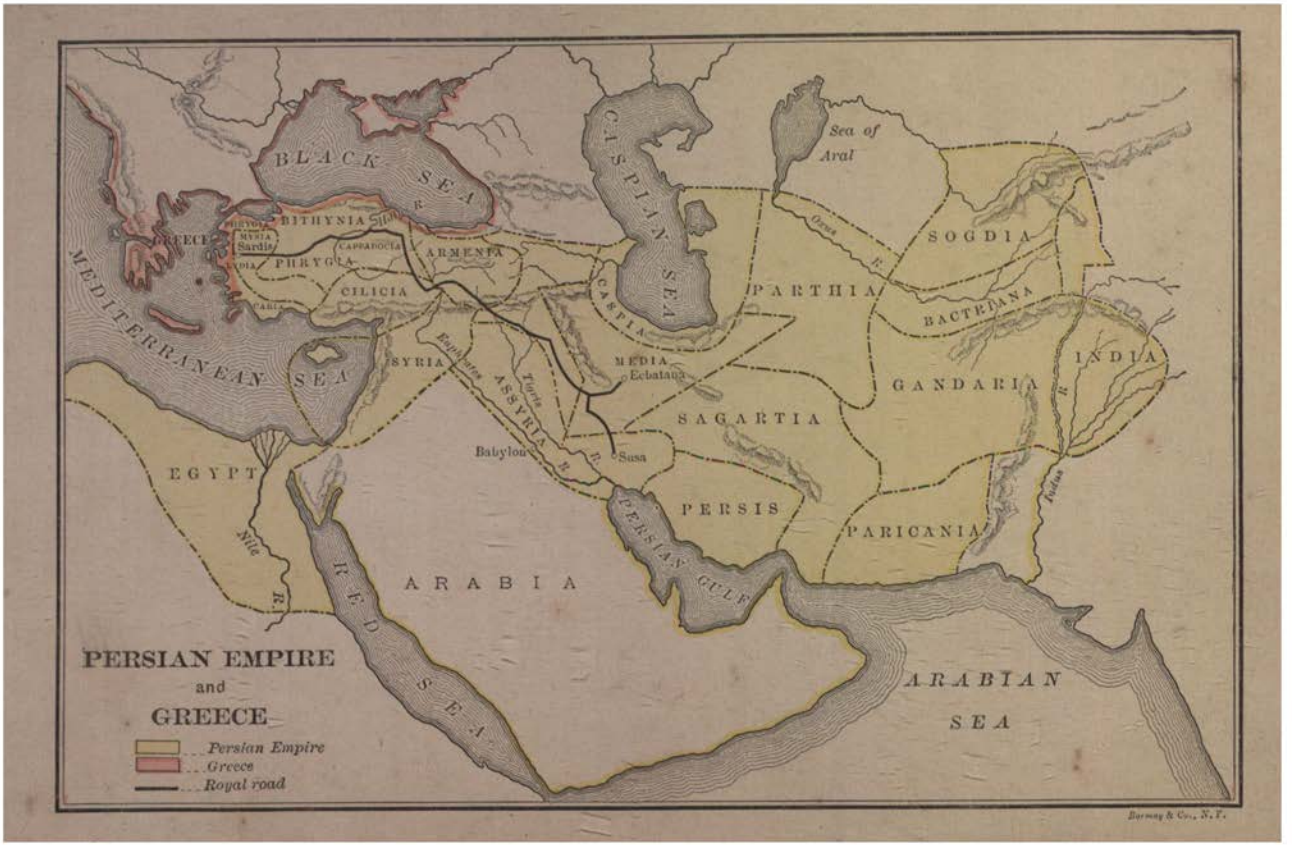
Battle at Lade, 497 B.C.

The burning of Sardis encouraged the rest of the Asiatic Greeks to join in the revolt, but at the same time stirred Darius to greater exertions for putting it down, and angered him especially against Athens and Eretria. The decisive battle of the war was fought at Lade, off Miletus. The Greeks had three hundred and fifty-three ships; the Phœnicians in the service of Persia had six hundred. Yet the Greeks would certainly have won the day, if they had shown the right spirit; but they were disunited and insubordinate, and allowed themselves to be influenced by secret agents from the enemy. At the very opening of the battle, many ships treacherously sailed away, and though a few remained and fought bravely, the battle was lost. The Asiatic Greeks at Lade proved incapable of self-government. United resistance was now at an end, and the separate states were subdued one by one or surrendered to avoid attack. The Persians brought the war to a close by the capture of Miletus after a siege of four years. They plundered and burned the city together with its temples, and carried the people into captivity; and thus they blotted out of existence the fairest city of Hellas, the city which up to this time had done most in building up European civilization. Though it was again inhabited by Greeks, it never regained its former splendor. The Persian governor at Sardis now compelled the Greek communities to live at peace with each other, and to settle their disputes by arbi-

Hdt. vi, 12–17.

Capture of Miletus, 494 B.C.

Hdt. vi, 42.


BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
Sea of Aral
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
RED SEA
ARABIAN SEA
PERSIAN GULF
ARABIA
EGYPT
SYRIA
ASSYRIA
MEDIA
Ecbatana
Babylon
Susa
PERSIS
PARTHIA
SOGDIA
BACTRIANA
GANDARIA
INDIA
SAGARTIA
PARICANIA
ARMENIA
CAPPADOCIA
PHRYGIA
CILICIA
BITHYNIA
GREECE
Sardis
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Nile R.
Oxus R.
Indus R.
PERSIAN EMPIRE
and
GREECE
Persian Empire
Greece
Royal road
Barmey & Co., N.Y.

tration. They recovered much of their prosperity; but with the suppression of their liberties, they ceased to contribute to the civilization of the world. The intellect, spirit, and morals of the Ionians so degenerated under bondage that the Athenians, a half century later, were ashamed to call them kinsmen. Pp. 9 f., 105 f.

Phrynichus fined.

The Athenians were intensely interested in the fortunes of the war, as their own safety seemed to depend upon the success of the Greeks, and the fall of Miletus filled them with grief and fear. Phrynichus of Athens, soon after this event, composed a drama, *The Capture of Miletus*. But when it was put on the stage, "the spectators fell to weeping, and the Athenians fined the poet a thousand drachmas for reminding them of their own calamities; and they ordered that no one in the future should represent this drama." Hdt. vi, 21.

Europe and Asia at war.

The fall of Miletus was indeed an evil omen to Europe; for in the fifteen years which followed this misfortune, Greek civilization came into great danger from Persia on the east and from Carthage, an African colony of the Phœnicians, on the west. In these years, the forty-six nations which composed the Persian empire poured their motley soldiery into continental Greece, while Carthage with a stupendous army tried to overwhelm Sicily. And it was no contest with mere barbarians which the Greeks had to wage in defence of their liberty; for the Phœnicians and the Persians were in many ways on a level with them. But their civilizations were totally different. The whole life of the Greek rested upon the political, social, and religious freedom of the individual, while that of the Asiatics depended on slavish obedience to authority, — the authority of priests and king. The Greeks were no braver than the Persians; but their freedom gave them spirit, and their intelligence provided them with superior arms, organization, and training.

Europe and Asia contrasted.

*Atossa.* Is then the bow-drawing arrow the chief weapon in their hands?

*Chorus.* By no means; lances used in close fight, and the accoutrements of shield-bearers.

*Atossa.* And who is set over them as a shepherd of the flock, and is the master of the army?

*Chorus.* They call themselves the slaves of no man, nor the subjects either.[1]

For these reasons the Greeks, though few, met and defeated by land and sea the largest armaments the world had yet known.

Persian aggressions.

From the beginning of her supremacy, Persia had followed a policy of conquest. "For of old fate went against the Persians by the decrees of heaven, and put it into their minds to engage in wars for the storming of fortresses, in the turmoil of cavalry actions, and in the overthrow of cities." Cyrus had added the Lydian empire to the Persian on the west; and Darius had followed up this conquest by invading Europe. On his return he left Megabazus in Europe in command of a strong force. This general conquered Thrace, received the submission of Macedon, and thus brought the Persian empire to the border of Thessaly. After suppressing the Ionian revolt, the Persians immediately carried the war across the Hellespont; for their European provinces had also rebelled. As the Phœnician fleet approached Chersonese, Miltiades fled with five triremes carrying his immense wealth. The Phœnicians pursued him so hotly that they took one of these, but with the others he entered the Athenian port. Yet for a time he found no safety even in his native city; for some suspected him because he was himself a tyrant and a descendant of the

Æsch. *Pers.* 102 ff.

Miltiades.

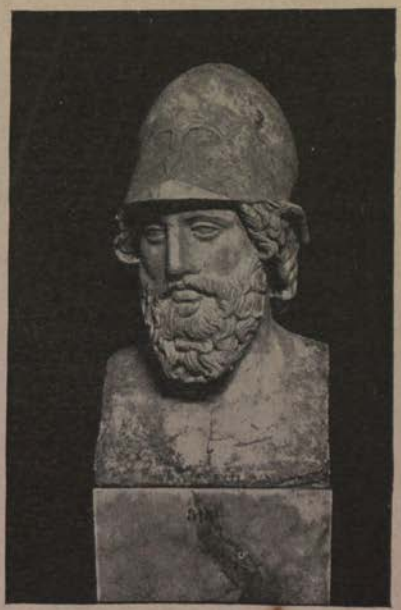
P. 110.

Hdt. vi, 41.

[1] From Æschylus' *Persians*, an historical drama on the battle of Salamis. The Chorus, representing the royal council of Persia, is talking about the Greeks to Atossa, mother of Xerxes, the Persian king.

tyrannic Cypselidæ of Corinth, and furthermore he had been a friend of the Pisistratidæ and a vassal of the Persian king. A leader of the party which upheld the republic immediately prosecuted him for his tyranny in Chersonese, but as the Athenians knew that he hated Persia and was an able and experienced general, they acquitted him, for they felt that they should need his service in the approaching war. The republican party, however, looked not to him but to Themistocles, a man of wonderful energy and intelligence, as its leader, whom it elected Archon for the year 493 B.C. He occupied his term of office in improving the triple harbor of Peiræus. Heretofore the Athenians had used as a harbor the open roadstead of Phalerum, but now Themistocles discovered the great value of Peiræus. He believed that war with Persia could not be avoided, and intended that Athens should have a navy-yard and a powerful fleet; for it would be necessary to meet, not only the Persians on land, but also the combined fleets of Phœnicia and Asiatic Greece on the sea.

Themistocles.



"THEMISTOCLES"
(Vatican Museum.)

Mardonius' invasion, 493 B.C.

While Themistocles was busy with his harbor, Mardonius, son-in-law of Darius, was marching through Thrace at the head of a large army, accompanied by a fleet along the shore. In rounding Mt. Athos the ships were wrecked, and at the same time his troops were slaughtered by the natives. Mardonius expected to conquer all continental Greece, but only retook Thrace and Macedon. The failure of his enterprise brought him into disgrace at the Persian court.

"Earth and water."

Darius now made ready another expedition, having in the meantime sent heralds among those Greek communities which were still free, to demand "earth and water," the tokens of submission. There was no need, Darius thought, of attacking those who would willingly submit. The Athenians, however, threw the king's herald into a pit, and the Spartans dropped the one who came to them into a well — bidding them take earth and water thence to their lord. They who advised this must have wished to remove even the possibility of reconciliation with Persia; for the Athenians and Spartans by mistreating the heralds violated the law of nations and placed themselves beyond the pale of the great king's grace.

Condition of Greece.

Greece was at a great disadvantage in the war with Persia because her states could not bring themselves to act together. Many of them immediately yielded through fear. Ægina sent earth and water out of enmity to Athens, while Argos, through jealousy of Sparta, might have aided the invader, had she not been crippled by the Lacedæmonians in a recent war. Within the Peloponnesian League alone was unity. In the face of common danger, men began for the first time to talk of obligations of loyalty to Greece, and to recognize Sparta as an authority with legal power to enforce loyal conduct. In this manner the patriots created in their imagination an ideal Hellas united and

free, looking to Sparta as leader. In this spirit Athens accused Ægina of treason in submitting to Persia, and brought the charge formally before Sparta, whose king, Cleomenes, recognized the duty of his city to Greece by punishing the offenders. Sparta, alone of all the Greek cities, thus far had shown a genius for organization and command; and it was with perfect justice therefore that all looked to her in this crisis as the head of Greece.

Hdt. vi, 49 f

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MARATHON

## CHAPTER VII

### THE WAR WITH PERSIA AND CARTHAGE (490–479 B.C.)

Invasion of Datis and Artaphernes.

IN the summer of 490 B.C. the Persian armament, which had long been preparing, moved westward across the Ægean, receiving the submission of the islanders on the way. It consisted of six hundred ships carrying an army of perhaps sixty thousand men. Datis, a Mede, and Artaphernes, a kinsman of Darius, were in command. Their object was to punish Athens and Eretria for helping the Ionian revolt, and to conquer whatever territory they could for their lord.

P. 113.

Betrayal of Eretria.

As the Persians came near, the Eretrians were in doubt as to what they should do. Some proposed to surrender, and others to flee to the mountains; but finally they decided to await an attack on their walls. After a brave defence of

six days, they were betrayed by two of their fellow-citizens. There were such traitors in every Greek city.

Pheidippides.

Eretrian fugitives filled Athens with the disheartening news. Forthwith the Athenian government mobilized its entire military force, and despatched Pheidippides, a swift long-distance runner, to Sparta to ask help. "Over the hills, under the dales, down pits and up peaks"[1] he ran his race of a hundred and fifty miles, and reached Sparta the day after starting. "Men of Lacedæmon," he said to the authorities, "the Athenians beseech you to hasten to their aid, and not allow that state which is the most ancient in all Greece to be enslaved by the barbarians. Eretria, look you, is already carried away captive, and Greece weakened by the loss of no mean city." The Lacedæmonians, though they wished to help the Athenians, had to wait several days before setting out, as a law forbade them to go to war in any month before the full moon.[2]

Hdt. vi, 106.

Battle of Marathon, 490 B.C.

Pp. 76, 83.

After sacking Eretria, the Persians, under the guidance of the aged Hippias, landed at Marathon. The Athenian army, led by the polemarch and ten generals, went to meet them. While the polemarch had the nominal command, Miltiades was the real leader, and he of all the generals deserves most credit for the victory. Though heavy-armed, the Athenians charged on the enemy at a double-quick march, so anxious were they to reach the Persians with their spears and avoid the showers of arrows. The Persians, who were unprepared for fighting hand to hand, were compelled to retire to their ships with great loss. The Athe-

P. 115.

[1] Browning, *Pheidippides*, a poem from the standpoint of an Athenian of the second or third generation after the battle of Marathon, when enmity had arisen between Athens and Sparta.

[2] So at least Herodotus says, and there seems to be no good reason for doubting him. Religious scruples often led the Greeks to act contrary to their wishes.

nians "were the first of the Hellenes, so far as we know, who attacked the enemy at a run, and they were the first to face the *Median garments* and the men who wore them, whereas up to this time the very name of the Medes was to the Hellenes a terror to hear." They gained this great victory practically by themselves; for the Platæans alone of their neighbors had come to their aid. The Lacedæmonians, starting after the full moon, reached Athens by a forced march, yet too late to be of service. The westward progress of Asiatic government and civilization which threatened Europe suffered its first check at Marathon. The Athenians broke the spell of the Persian name; for they bravely faced perhaps six times their number and proved once for all the superiority of Greek over Oriental. The victory filled the Athenians with self-confidence and made them aggressive. Within a day their stature had grown heroic, and the memories of that day inspired them thereafter to brave danger in the forefront of Hellas.

Hdt. vi, 112.

Pp. 115 f.

Demosth. *De Corona*, 208.

"THE WARRIOR OF MARATHON"

Miltiades now stood at the summit of fame. He thought the present moment favorable for building up the Athenian power and wealth at the expense of the islanders who had sided with the king. So he planned an expedition against Paros, and asked the Athenians for ships and men, promising to make

Miltiades fined.

Hdt. vi, 132-136.

them rich but not telling them just what he intended to do. He sailed with his fleet to Paros and demanded a contribution of a hundred talents. As the Parians refused to pay anything, he besieged them without effect for nearly a month, and then returned wounded to Athens, to disappoint the hopes of all. His enemies found in his failure another opportunity to assail him. Xanthippus, leader of the republican party, prosecuted him for having deceived the people. The penalty would have been death; but because of Miltiades' great services to the state, it was lightened to a fine of fifty talents. Miltiades died of his wound, and the fine was paid by his son Cimon. P. 116.

Who was at fault?

It is difficult to divide fairly the blame for the unhappy event between Miltiades and the Athenians. Had he succeeded in exacting his contribution or in adding Paros to the Athenian state, his fellow-citizens would probably have commended him for the act instead of prosecuting him. The failure rather than the character of the enterprise wounded their feelings. It was a defect, too, of their government that the assembly had to be consulted on questions of foreign policy; and any one who did not conform to the rule was supposed to have some evil plot in mind. On the other hand, Miltiades, accustomed only to be a lord over others, was dangerous to the republic; and in his Parian expedition he had insulted the spirit of the free constitution by not taking the people into his confidence. And as to the charge of ingratitude brought against the Athenians for their conduct on this occasion, it is to be remembered that not Miltiades, but the Athenians, won the battle of Marathon.

Party struggles.

The Athenian government had for some years been struggling to maintain itself against tyrants and oligarchs. The victory at Marathon, which decided that Hippias should

not return, was a triumph for the republicans. They thought, too, that in condemning Miltiades they had made another gain. They now followed up these successes by a fierce political war upon the tyrant's party, lasting three years. Each year they ostracized a leader of that party; and by disorganizing it in this way, they delivered Athens from all fear of a relapse into despotism. In the meantime the Athenians made their government more democratic by passing an act which provided that the nine archons, instead of being elected as heretofore, should be drawn by lot from nominees presented by the townships. Henceforth, from the fact that the incapable man had as good a chance for the archonship as the capable, it ceased to be the chief office of the state; and as the Council of the Areopagus was made up of ex-archons, that began also from this time to decline. Finally, as the archonship and the Council of the Areopagus were both aristocratic institutions, any decrease in their importance left the government more democratic. The ten generals now took the place of the nine archons as the most influential magistrates of the state. The republicans split on this issue into two parties: the conservatives, who opposed changing the constitution, and the democrats, who favored it.

Arist. *Ath. Const.* 22.

487 B.C.

Aristeides and Themistocles.

Aristeides and Themistocles were now the most eminent men in Athens. Their characters have been distorted by partisan prejudice and still more by shallow rhetoricians who wrote about them in later time. These authors sought everywhere for brilliant contrasts, and took delight in thinking of Aristeides and Themistocles as opposites because of some political rivalry. Because Aristeides was known as the just and the honest, Themistocles, they imagined, must have been the unjust and the dishonest. Because Themistocles was a reformer, Aristeides must have

been a conservative. All this is superficial. Both were builders of a new age: Aristeides made the government more democratic, Themistocles created Peiræus and the navy. Both men were praised by their friends as just in private relations; both were denounced by their enemies as unscrupulous and corrupt in public life. But Themistocles, though he had many enemies, was never tried for anything but treason, and even then he was acquitted, while Aristeides was once fined for embezzlement. Aristeides is represented as saying that both he and Themistocles were dangerous to the state; and while he was in exile, the Athenians feared that he would go over to the Persians, so little faith had they in his patriotism. His friends, on the other hand, gave him the title of "the Just." The historian who sifts the evidence carefully must come to the conclusion that these two statesmen were very much alike in moral character, though Themistocles had the most brilliant genius of all the Greeks down at least to his own day. A great man is, to some extent, the product of his time; and we cannot think of a Themistocles without a free people struggling against forces which seem overwhelming. On the other hand, great men have their influence; so Themistocles, through his own will and genius, discovering the capabilities of the Athenians, turned their history into the channel through which it flowed as long as they remained free.

Plutarch, *Aristeides* and *Themistocles*.

Genius of Themistocles.

Thuc. i, 138.

The state was weak for lack of money, and there was little hope of improvement in this respect, for nearly every one supposed that the government should support the people rather than be supported by them. Fortunately, considerable revenues were coming into the treasury from the silver mines of Laureium, in southeastern Attica. But some one, probably Aristeides, now proposed to divide the money

Ostracism of Aristeides, 483 B.C.

Pp. 83, 124.

from this source among the citizens. Themistocles, by opposing the measure, came into a conflict with Aristeides, which resulted in the ostracism of the latter. While the citizens were voting the ostracism, it is said that an illiterate peasant, who did not even know the great men of Athens by sight, approached Aristeides, and had the following talk with him: —

Plut. *Aristeides.*

*Peasant.* Take my *ostrakon*, good sir, and write a name on it for me.
*Aristeides.* What name, pray, shall I write?
*Peasant.* Aristeides.
*Aristeides.* Why, what harm has he done you?
*Peasant.* None at all. I do not even know him, but I am tired of hearing him called the Just.

Perhaps the peasant envied Aristeides' good name; or he may have believed that there were hundreds of Athenians as just and as honest as either of their leaders.

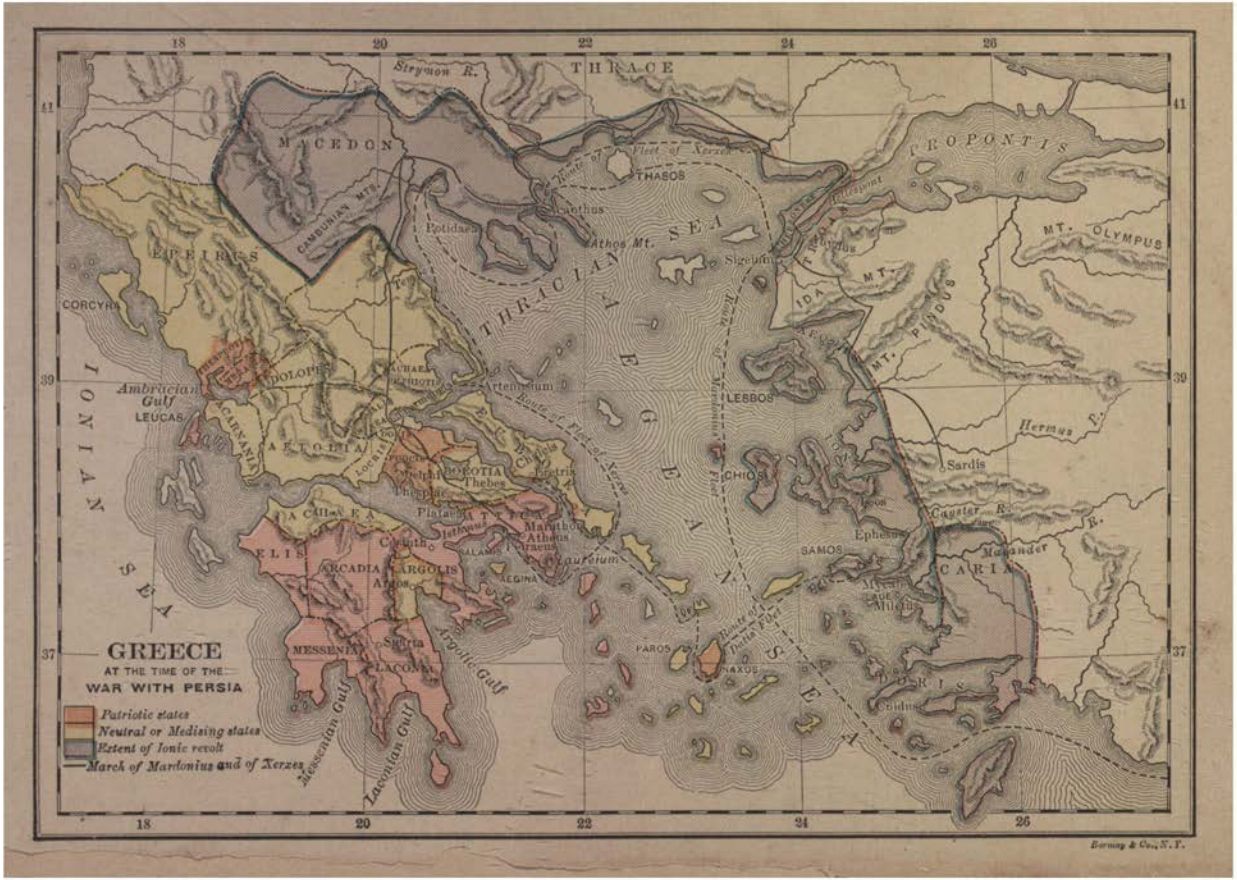
Themistocles' Naval Decree, 482 B.C.

On the motion of Themistocles, the council and the assembly then decreed that the revenues from the mines should be used for building triremes. Their immediate motive was the war which they were still waging, without success, against Ægina; but Themistocles foresaw the danger still to come from Persia, for Xerxes, son and successor of Darius, was nearly ready for another invasion of Greece. He saw too, no doubt, that his decree would give Athens the strongest navy in the world. The Athenians began immediately to build triremes, so that they had two hundred ready when the enemy came. We shall see how they used these ships in the battle of Salamis to defend Europe against Asia; and how, when the war was over, they acquired a great maritime empire.

Hdt. vii, 144; Arist. *Ath. Const.* 22.

Xerxes prepares for an invasion of Greece.

In the meantime, Xerxes was preparing for the conquest of Greece. For four years he gathered his resources, storing provisions along the proposed route and collecting


GREECE
AT THE TIME OF THE
WAR WITH PERSIA
Patriotic states
Neutral or Medising states
Extent of Ionic revolt
March of Mardonius and of Xerxes
THRACE
MACEDON
EPIRUS
THESSALY
BOEOTIA
ATTICA
ELIS
ARCADIA
ARGOLIS
MESSENIA
LACONIA
CARIA
DORIS
THRACIAN SEA
AEGEAN SEA
IONIAN SEA
Strymon R.
Athos Mt.
THASOS
LESBOS
CHIOS
SAMOS
PAROS
NAXOS
Sardis
Ephesus
Miletus
Cnidus
Thebes
Athens
Sparta
Argos
Corinth
Thermopylæ
Plataea
Salamis
Marathon
Artemisium
Mycale
Hellespont
Propontis
Mt. Olympus
Mt. Pindus
Mt. Ida
Hermus R.
Caystar R.
Meander R.
Ambracian Gulf
Argolic Gulf
Messenian Gulf
Laconian Gulf
Corcyra
Leucas
Cithæron
Parnassus
Oeta
Pelion
Ossa
Olympus
Pindus
Route of Fleet of Xerxes
Route of Battle Fleet
Route of Mardonius
Route of Flank Army of Xerxes
Potidæa
Acanthus
Sigeum
Abydus
Lampsacus
Troy
Ægina
Salamis
Platæa
Thermopylæ

troops from every part of the empire. In the spring of 481 B.C., the nations he ruled were pouring their contingents into Asia Minor, and the autumn of the year found him with his vast host encamped for the winter at Sardis. His engineers were engaged in bridging the Hellespont with boats and in digging a canal through the Isthmus of Athos, that the fleet might not be compelled to round the dangerous cape. Herodotus estimates the total land force at a million seven hundred thousand men; but this is doubtless a great exaggeration. Xerxes had, apparently, three hundred thousand serviceable troops, while the rest were merely for display. On the sea were about twelve hundred ships of war, manned by Greeks, Phœnicians, and Egyptians. The invasion was indeed to bring Greece into great peril; for the battle of Marathon had not decided the war with Persia, and Xerxes still hoped to win by sheer force of numbers.

P. 115.

Hdt. vii, 61-100.

Union of loyal Greeks.

While Xerxes was in camp at Sardis, his messengers came to the Greek states demanding earth and water, and received these tokens of submission from many of them. But none came to Athens and Sparta, as these were to be punished for their treatment of Darius' heralds. A council of the loyal states met on the Isthmus to plan for the defence of Greece. This union was practically an enlargement of the Peloponnesian League under the leadership of Sparta. The states represented in the council agreed under oath to wage war in common for the protection of their liberties, and on the return of peace to dedicate to the Delphian Apollo a tenth of the property of those Hellenic states which had voluntarily yielded to the enemy. They also reconciled their enmities with one another, and sent spies to Sardis and envoys to the other Greek states to secure their accession to the League. Xerxes, capturing the spies,

Hdt. vii, 132 f.

P. 118.

Hdt. vii, 145.

showed them politely around his camp and sent them home unharmed. The envoys to the Greek states were less successful. Argos, through hostility to Sparta, held aloof from the union and no doubt prayed for the success of the Persians. The Corcyræans promised their navy, but lingered selfishly on the way till the war was decided. Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse, was requested to give help; but he was busy preparing to meet a Carthaginian invasion.

P. 118.

Hdt. vii, 165.

Battle of Thermopylæ, 480 B.C.

The plan of the allies was to build a wall across the Isthmus of Corinth and to make their main defence there. It was a narrow, Peloponnesian policy, directed by the Lacedæmonian ephors. As Xerxes approached the Hellespont in the spring of 480 B.C., the allies made a feeble, fruitless attempt to defend Thessaly against him by posting an army in the vale of Tempe. On the withdrawal of this army, the Thessalians went over to the enemy. To prevent central Greece from following their example, the ephors sent King Leonidas with three hundred heavy-armed Spartans and a few thousand allies to hold the pass of Thermopylæ, and thus shut Xerxes out from central Greece. They pro-

Hdt. vii, 172–174.

P. 61.

fessed to believe that he could hold the pass till the Olympic games and their own festival of the Carneia were over. Then, they said, they would take the field in full force. Hdt. vii, 202, 206. The fleet, comprising the contingents of the various cities of the League, sailed to Artemisium to coöperate with the land force at Thermopylæ. Each contingent was under its own admiral, and the whole fleet was commanded by the Spartan Eurybiades.

A Persian Archer

The Persians failed to carry Leonidas' position by assault, for their numbers did not count in the narrow pass. The discipline of the Greeks, their strong defensive armor, and their long spears might have held the hordes of Xerxes in check for an indefinite time, had not the Persians gained the rear of the pass through the treachery of a Greek. Most of the allies then withdrew; but Leonidas with his three hundred Spartans and a few allies remained and prepared for a death struggle. The contrast between the Greeks and the Orientals was at its height at Thermopylæ: on the one side, the Persian officers scourged their men to battle; on the other, the Spartans voluntarily faced certain death

The Three Hundred Spartans.

P. 115.

Pp. 57 ff.

in obedience to law. "The Lacedæmonians are the best of all men when fighting in a body; for though free, yet they are not free in all things, since over them is set law as a master. They certainly do whatever that master commands; and he always bids them not flee in battle from any multitude of men, but stay at their post, and win the victory or lose their lives." The dead were buried where they fell, and the poet Simonides, some say, composed this epitaph for the three hundred: "Stranger, tell the Lacedæmonians that we lie here in obedience to their laws." The Spartans were slain but not conquered. The battle of Thermopylæ ought to have been considered a victory for the Greeks, but in the general discouragement it only made matters worse. The admirals at Artemisium, though they met with some success, resolved to retreat even before hearing of the capture of Thermopylæ.

Hdt. vii, 104, 223, 228.

Many states Medize.

Xerxes was now moving through central Greece towards Athens. Nearly all of the states west of Attica submitted and sent their troops to reënforce his army. The men of Delphi, according to their own account, hid the treasures of Apollo in a cave and prepared to resist the Persian corps which had come to pillage their temple; then some god aided them by bringing a thunder-storm and hurling great crags down Mount Parnassus upon the advancing enemy. In this way, they said, Apollo defended his holy shrine. However, as the Delphian priests had on former occasions favored foreigners in preference to Greeks and had given their countrymen no encouragement in the present war, it seems not unlikely that they made their peace with Xerxes and afterwards invented the story of the supernatural defence to cover their want of patriotism.

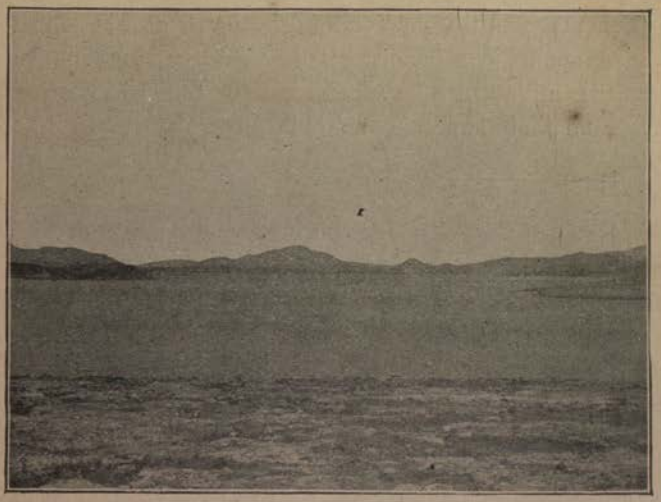
Hdt. viii, 35 ff.

P. 101.

Greek fleet at Salamis.

The Greek fleet paused at Salamis to help the Athenians remove their families and property to places of safety.

This was their last resource, as the Peloponnesians were bent on defending only Peloponnese. Indeed, the other admirals wanted to hurry on to the Isthmus; but Themistocles would not go with his contingent, and the others felt that they could not afford to lose it. Themistocles on entering his city found it in despair. Some time before



BAY OF SALAMIS

this the Athenians had sent to consult the Delphic oracle with respect to the approaching war, and a dreadful answer had come foretelling utter ruin. The Athenian messengers besought a more favorable reply, saying they would remain in the shrine till their death if it were not granted. Then the god grew merciful and gave a little hope: —

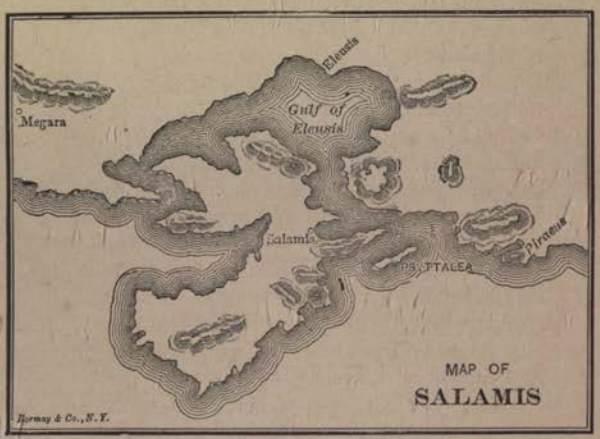
Apollo discourages Athens.

Pallas has not been able to soften the lord of Olympus,
Though she has often prayed him, and urged him with excellent counsel.
Yet once more I address thee in words than adamant firmer:
When the foe shall have taken whatever the limit of Cecrops

Holds within it, and all which divine Cithæron shelters,
Hdt. vii, 141. Then far-seeing Jove grants this to the prayers of Athena, —
Safe shall the wooden wall continue for thee and thy children.
Wait not the tramp of the horse, nor the footman mightily moving
Over the land, but turn your back to the foe, and retire ye.
Yet shall a day arrive when ye shall meet him in battle.
Holy Salamis, thou shalt destroy the offspring of women,
When men scatter the seed, or when they gather the harvest.

Themistocles compels the Greeks to fight

Some thought that the "wooden wall" was the fence about the Acropolis; but Themistocles said no, it meant the ships, and thus he induced the Athenians to quit their homes and place all their hopes in the fleet. Themistocles was the




soul of resistance to Persia. His resourceful mind supplied courage, unity, and religious faith. He was now determined that the battle between Asia and Europe should be fought in the bay of Salamis. First, he exhausted the resources of eloquence and argument to persuade the admirals that here was the most favorable place for the fight; but when arguments and even threats failed, he secretly advised the enemy to block the Greeks up in the bay. By

following his advice, they compelled the Greeks to fight. The three hundred and seventy-eight Greek triremes, nearly half of which were manned by Athenians, had to face a fleet twice as large. Though most of the enemy's naval force was made up of Asiatic Greeks, yet the free Greeks gained the victory, for they fought with better spirit. Hdt. viii, 44, 48 ff.

The poet Æschylus, who was in the fight, gives a glorious description of it in his historical drama, *The Persians*. The speaker is a Persian messenger addressing Atossa, Xerxes' mother. The battle of Salamis, 480 B.C.

And when day, bright to look on with white steeds,
O'erspread the earth, then rose from the Hellenes
Loud chant of cry of battle, and forthwith
Echo gave answer from each island rock;
And terror then on all the Persians fell,
Of fond hopes disappointed. Not in flight
The Hellenes then their solemn pæans sang: Æsch. *Pers.*
But with brave spirit hastening on to battle, 386 ff.; cf.
With martial sound the trumpet fired those ranks: Hdt. viii,
And straight with sweep of oars that flew through foam, 79 ff.
They smote the loud waves at the boatswain's call;
And swiftly all were manifest to sight.
Then first their right wing moved in order meet;
Next the whole line its forward course began,
And all at once we heard a mighty shout, —
"*O sons of Hellenes, forward, free your country;*
*Free too your wives, your children, and the shrines*
*Built to your fathers' Gods, and holy tombs*
*Your ancestors now rest in. Now the fight*
*Is for our all.*" And on our side indeed
Arose in answer din of Persian speech,
And time to wait was over: ship on ship
Dashed its bronze-pointed beak, and first a barque
Of Hellas did the encounter fierce begin,
And from Phœnician vessel crashes off
Her carved prow. And each against his neighbor
Steers his own ship: and first the mighty flood
Of Persian host held out. But when the ships

Were crowded in the straits, nor could they give
Help to each other, they with mutual shocks,
With beaks of bronze went crushing each the other,
Shivering their rowers' benches. And the ships
Of Hellas, with manœuvring not unskilful,
Charged circling round them. And the hulls of ships
Floated capsized, nor could the sea be seen,
Filled, as it was, with wrecks and carcasses;
And all the shores and rocks were full of corpses,
And every ship was wildly rowed in fight,
All that composed the Persian armament.
And they, as men spear tunnies, or a haul
Of other fishes, with the shafts of oars,
Or spars of wrecks went smiting, cleaving down;
And bitter groans and wailings overspread
The wide sea-waves, till eye of swarthy night
Bade it all cease: and for the mass of ills,
Not, though my tale should run for ten full days,
Could I in full recount them. Be assured
That never yet so great a multitude
Died in a single day as died in this.

Results of the battle.

The Asiatic fleet was so thoroughly crippled and demoralized that there was no more danger to Greece from the sea. Xerxes quickly withdrew from Europe, leaving Mardonius in command of three hundred thousand troops. The contest on land was deferred to the following summer; but the Persian cause was strengthened by the change of plan, and the real crisis was yet to come.

Athenian envoys at Sparta.

P. 128.

Hdt. ix, 6–10.

When the Athenians returned to their city, they found it in ruins. Though they might during the winter have made good terms with the enemy, they remained loyal to Hellas, only urging that the Peloponnesian army should be displayed as soon as possible in Bœotia. In the spring of 479 B.C. Mardonius moved from his winter quarters in Thessaly into central Greece, and the Athenians again abandoned their city. Some of the Peloponnesians were at home; others were busy working on the Isthmian wall,

behind which they still planned to make their defence. The Athenians sent three of their most eminent citizens to Sparta to demand that the Peloponnesian army should immediately move forward beyond the Isthmus; otherwise the Athenians would be compelled to seek their own way of safety. The ephors put the envoys off from day to day on the pretext that the Spartans were celebrating the festival of the Hyacinthia. But in reality they had little thought of leading their force beyond the Isthmus. The tenth day came, and the envoys determined to depart next morning. The crisis had come; the ephors held in their hands the destiny of Europe. The sun set, but no word came from ephors to envoys. It was a heavy night for the men from Athens. No doubt they watched out its dreary minutes still hoping against hope. They little knew what was taking place; for all through the night messengers were bearing the mandates of imperial Sparta's ephors to the towns of the perioeci, and doubtless also to the allies who still remained at home, bidding Peloponnese concentrate its military strength at the Isthmus for a march into central Greece. In that same night five thousand heavy-armed Spartans, under the regent Pausanias, set out for the Isthmus accompanied by seven times as many light-armed helots. In Peloponnese, Greek intellect had embodied itself in military discipline and organization, and two centuries of vigorous training were now to bear fruit. With amazement and joy the envoys learned in the morning that the war of independence was now to be waged, not for Peloponnese alone, but for all Greece. They flew home to tell the good news. Now that Sparta had decided to act, she would show the world how rapidly she could mobilize her army.

The battle was fought at Platæa; but the issue had never

Battle of Platæa, 479 B.C. Hdt. ix, 12–89.

been doubtful since that memorable day on which the fight was morally won in Sparta. The generals managed the battle awkwardly; not they but their men are to be praised for the victory. The Spartan spirit is typified in the sublime stubbornness of Amompharetus, a Lacedæmonian captain. When ordered to retreat with the army to a better position, he seized a piece of stone, and, casting it at the feet of Pausanias, the commander, he exclaimed, "With this pebble I give my vote not to fly from the strangers!" The Athenians, commanded by Aristeides, were as brave as the Spartans, but some of the Peloponnesian allies took no part in the fight.[1]

Hdt. ix, 55.

In the summer of the same year, the Greek fleet was tempted across the Ægean by the Samians, who wished to revolt from Persia. About the time of the battle at Platæa, — Herodotus says on the same day, — the crews of the Greek vessels landed at Mycale and gained a victory over a greatly superior force of the Persians. The battle of Platæa freed continental Greece from fear of Persian conquest; that at Mycale pointed unmistakably to the liberation from Persian influence of the whole Ægean region east and north.

War with Carthage.

We shall now turn our attention to the war which the western Greeks were meanwhile waging with Carthage. Sicily, the connecting link between Europe and Africa, was for centuries the battle-ground of these two continents, till all-conquering Rome decided the contest in favor of Europe.

Causes of the war.

All the Greek cities of Sicily except Syracuse had fallen, before 485 B.C., under the rule of tyrants. In that year Gelon, despot of Gela, when called in to settle a civil war between the aristocrats and the commons in Syracuse, ended

[1] The campaign and battle; Hdt. ix, 12–89.

it by making himself master of this city. Leaving the government of Gela to his brother, Hieron, he took up his residence in Syracuse, which he made the largest and strongest of Sicilian cities. This he did by conquering the surrounding communities, selling their commons into slavery, and making their nobles citizens of Syracuse. He had determined that his capital should be a city of wealthy men, but in carrying out this policy he betrayed an un-Hellenic disregard for human rights, which he had undoubtedly learned from the Phœnicians. All southeastern Sicily came under his authority. He increased his power still further by marrying the daughter of Theron, tyrant of Acragas. While the great cities of southern Sicily were thus uniting under the rule of a single family, a similar combination was taking place among the states of the north. This was chiefly due to Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, who had added Messene to his domain and had married the daughter of Terillus, despot of Himera. A conflict now came between North and South: Theron began it by seizing Himera and expelling its ruler. Thereupon Anaxilas helped his kinsman, while Theron was supported by both Gelon and Hieron. The strife which ensued was the immediate occasion for a Carthaginian invasion; and Terillus was to play in this matter the part of a Hippias.

Battle of Himera, 480 B.C.

The Phœnicians of Carthage were originally an industrial and trading people with little taste for war. But to defend their commercial position in the western Mediterranean they had, in the latter half of the sixth century B.C., transformed their state into a great military power. The Carthaginian Mago had conceived the idea of organizing a gigantic mercenary force, and he thus converted the wealth of his city into "sinews of war." This was all in a spirit of defence; but when the new system was once established,

Carthage became a conquering state to win back the lands she had been compelled to yield to the Greeks. While Xerxes was making his tremendous levy, Carthaginian officers were enlisting recruits from all the islands and coasts of the western Mediterranean. And about the time that Xerxes was crossing the Hellespont, King Hamilcar of Carthage, landing at Panormus, advanced towards Himera with an army as formidable, if not so large, as that of the Asiatic despot. Terillus had invited intervention; and the Carthaginians were bringing him back to his city. They were met and defeated near Himera by the combined forces of Gelon and Theron. The story is told that all day long, as the battle raged, the prophet king of Carthage stood apart from his host, offering victims to the gods, and that at last to appease the angry powers who seemed to be siding with the foe, he threw himself a living sacrifice into the flames.

Hdt. vii, 153–168.

The Greeks of later time would have it that this battle took place on the day of Salamis. The Greek force at Himera was about as large as that at Platæa, but was mainly mercenary. It lacked the enthusiasm of patriotism, but was more solidly welded together, so as to move at the command of one ruling will. Moreover, Gelon was a more skilful general than Pausanias. Pindar thought of Himera as equal in importance to Salamis and Platæa.[1] Peace was made soon after the battle on the basis of the *status quo*, and soon most of Greek Sicily was united under Gelon.

Holm, ii, p. 82.

[1] "From Salamis shall I of the Athenians take reward of thanks; at Sparta when I shall tell in a song to come of the battle [at Platæa] before Cithæron, wherein the Medes that bear crooked bows were overthrown; but by the fair-watered banks of the Himeras it shall be for the song I have rendered to the sons of Deinomenes [*i.e.* to Gelon and Hieron], which by their valor they have earned, since the men that warred against them are overthrown." — *Pyth.* i.

The conflict between Greeks and foreigners was decided in the East by the battle of Platæa; in the West, by that of Himera. The war continued for some time in the East, no longer for the defence of continental Greece, but for the liberation of the Hellenic cities about the Ægean, the Hellespont, and the Black Sea. In the West, peace with Carthage followed the battle of Himera; but the Greeks still had before them a short, sharp struggle with the Etruscans. The victory in the East was won by the enthusiasm of free citizens; that in the West by mercenaries in the service of tyrants. Yet the conflict in both parts created a democratic spirit, which in the East made the existing constitutions still more popular, and in the West overturned tyranny and set up republican governments. The war with Persia and Carthage did much to unite the states of Hellas: Sparta remained for a time the political centre of the East and Syracuse of the West. Finally, the victorious Greeks, filled with energy and confidence by their unexpected success, now entered upon their great age in literature, art, and politics.

Contrasts between the East and West.

P. 142.

Holm, ii, pp. 82, 89, n. 8.

P. 118.

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CAVE OF APOLLO IN DELOS

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE AGE OF CIMON — HARMONY AMONG THE GREEK STATES (479-461 B.C.)

Gelon becomes king.

P. 136 f.

THE victory of Himera brought Gelon great honor and strengthened his hold on the government. One day he appeared unprotected in an assembly of armed citizens — a bold thing for a tyrant — to render an account of his rule. The people, thus taken into his confidence, hailed him as their benefactor, preserver, and king; and from that time they regarded him not as a tyrant, but as the sovereign of their choice. Two years after the battle he died lamented by his subjects, who looked upon him as the second founder of their city. His brother Hieron succeeded him.

Literature.

Pp. 9, 105.

These two rulers were liberal patrons of culture and made Syracuse the most brilliant city of Greece. The foremost place in civilization, once held by Ionia, was now filled

by western Greece. Just as the Asiatic Greeks composed the first poetry of their race which has come down to us, the Sicilians were the first to cultivate comedy, rhetoric, and oratory, and to bring architecture to a high stage of excellence. Hieron gathered about him the most brilliant talent he could find. Among the men of genius at his court was Epicharmus, the first great comic poet of Greece. He was a scientist and physician as well as a writer of comedies, — a broad-minded man. Pindar himself tells us that he, too, took pleasure in visiting "the rich and happy hearth of Hieron; for he wieldeth the sceptre of justice in Sicily of many flocks, culling the choice fruits of all kinds of excellence; and is made splendid with the flower of music, even such strains as we sing blithely at the table of a friend." Æschylus of Athens spent several years with Hieron, and perhaps in Syracuse composed his drama *The Suppliants*. A passage in it seems to be addressed to Sicily's "king": "You are the city; you are the public; as irresponsible chief you have power over the altar, the hearth of the land, by your own sovereign decrees; and so, seated on a throne of undisputed sway, you ratify all civil business. Beware of incurring guilt in the sight of the gods." Æschylus was probably the first to set forth this idea of kingship, which Louis XIV of France reiterated when he said, "I am the state."

Epicharmus.

Pindar. P. 91 f.

Æschylus. Pp. 133, 159 ff.

*Suppliants*, 370 ff.

Many other distinguished men, both poets and philosophers, sojourned at his court; and sculptors, architects, and workmen found plenty of employment under him. For the victory at Himera brought a new era in art; the victors, in gratitude to the gods for their help, built new temples in the various cities of Sicily. Although the citizens usually lived in small, cheap houses, in marked contrast to the magnificent dwellings of the gods, those of Acragas were an

Art.

Pind. *Olymp.* ii; *Pyth.* xii.

exception to the rule, as many of them had fine residences; in fact, this city was, under Theron, the most beautiful in Greece.

Battle off Cumæ, 474 B.C.

Hieron had spent but a few years in the works of peace when he was called to the defence of Hellas against the Etruscans. These people lived in Italy north of Rome; but as they had a strong navy, they were threatening to take possession of all the western coast of the peninsula. This would have been a great misfortune, for the Etruscans were inferior to the Greeks in civilization. They had overrun fertile Campania and were coming to attack Cumæ, when Hieron defeated them near that city in a naval battle, and checked forever the growth of their power. This victory saved not only the Greeks of Italy, but even Rome itself, from the Etruscans. On that day, "they beheld the calamity of their ships that befell them before Cumæ, even how they were smitten by the captain of the Syracusans, who from their swift ships hurled their youth into the sea, to deliver Hellas from the bondage of the oppressor."

Pind. *Pyth.* i.

Revolution in Sicily, 472–465 B.C.

After this battle came a time of quiet and prosperity. The Sicilians out of respect for Hieron and Theron endured the monarchy as long as these able rulers lived, but they rebelled against their worthless sons. Then Syracuse, Acragas, and the other cities of Sicily became republics, and at the same time lost political connection with each other. Thus it came about that the downfall of tyranny left Sicily disunited and weak, and at the same time brought a decline in culture. For during the next few years the new republics were so disturbed by civil wars that they could give little attention to the refinements of life. The old citizens were trying to exclude from their civil rights those who, in reward for mercenary service, had received the franchise from the tyrants. Finally they gained their point, and, in 461 B.C.,

a congress of deputies from the various Sicilian cities settled all civil disputes and established firmly the republics.

Meantime the Greeks of Italy were growing more democratic. Their cities had been ruled either by tyrants or by oligarchs; those of the Achæans were under the control of Pythagorean brotherhoods, which were at once religious and aristocratic. The populace of Croton in its zeal for democracy attacked the Pythagoreans while they were assembled in their meeting-house, and by setting fire to the building destroyed nearly the whole fraternity. The sect met with similar experiences in the other Achæan cities; the tyrants, too, were overthrown, and by the middle of the fifth century B.C. all the Greek states of Italy, except Locri, had become democratic.

Revolution in Italy.

P. 95.

P. 32.

We shall now follow the history of the eastern Greeks from 479 to 461 B.C.

Eastern Greece, 479–461 B.C.

As soon as all danger from the Persians was over, the Athenians returned home from exile and began to rebuild their city and its walls. They had sacrificed more than all the other Greeks together in the cause of Hellenic freedom. But instead of sympathizing with them in their misfortune, some of the Greek states, doubtless through jealousy, complained of Athens to Sparta, and asked that the building of the defences be stopped. It was urged that the Athenian walls would be merely a protection to the Persians on another invasion, and that Peloponnese would afford a sufficient refuge for all. This was in accord with the narrow, selfish policy which the Spartan ephors had pursued throughout the late war. As they found it easier to rule defenceless cities, they acted readily on the suggestion of their allies. They sent envoys who advised the Athenians to stop fortifying their city and to join the Lacedæmonians rather in tearing down the walls of all the communities

Fortification of Athens.

P. 134.

Pp. 118 f., 128, 134.

north of the Isthmus. The policy of Lacedæmon was evidently to rule Greece if convenient, and to protect only Peloponnese; but the Athenians would not submit to an arrangement so unjust. As they were in no condition to face a Peloponnesian army, the resourceful Themistocles provided a way out of the difficulty.

Themistocles outwits the Lacedæmonians.

Thuc. i, 90 f.

Following his advice, the Athenians appointed him, Aristeides, and a third person ambassadors to Sparta to discuss the question at issue. Aristeides as a member of the embassy did all in his power to aid Themistocles in the stratagem. He must have seen clearly that the Athenians, who themselves aspired to leadership among the Greeks, could not suffer their city to become an unwalled township of Lacedæmon. Themistocles "proposed that he should start at once for Sparta, and that his colleagues should wait until the wall reached the lowest height which could possibly be defended. The whole people, men, women, and children, should join in the work, and they must spare no building, private or public, which could be of use, but demolish them all. Having given these instructions and intimated that he would manage affairs at Sparta, he departed. On his arrival he did not at once present himself officially to the magistrates, but delayed and made excuses; and when any of them asked him why he did not appear before the assembly, he said that he was waiting for his colleagues, who had been detained by some engagement; he was daily expecting them, and wondered that they had not appeared.

Athens the equal of Sparta.

"The friendship of the Lacedæmonian magistrates for Themistocles induced them to believe him; but when everybody who came from Athens declared positively that the wall was building and had already reached a considerable height, they knew not what to think. He, aware of their suspicions, desired them not to be misled by reports, but

to send to Athens men whom they could trust out of their own number, who would see for themselves and bring back word. They agreed; and he at the same time privately instructed the Athenians to detain the envoys as quietly as they could, and not let them go till he and his colleagues had got safely home. For by this time . . . [the two other Athenian ambassadors] had arrived, bringing the news that the wall was of sufficient height; and he was afraid that the Lacedæmonians, when they heard the truth, might not allow them to return. So the Athenians detained the envoys, and Themistocles, coming before the Lacedæmonians, at length declared in so many words that Athens was now provided with walls and could protect her citizens;" and that henceforth Sparta must treat her as an equal. It was a bold game well played. The ephors replied that their proposal to Athens had been intended merely as friendly advice. The outcome of the matter was that although the Spartans were thoroughly indignant with Themistocles, the alliance between the two states remained intact.

Thuc. i, 18, 102; cf. p. 86.

While the Athenians were fortifying their city, important events were happening elsewhere. The victory of Mycale led to the revolt of the Ionians and of some other Asiatic Greeks from the Persians. The Peloponnesian commanders of the fleet at Samos could not think of maintaining a force in Asia Minor for the protection of these new allies. They proposed instead to expel those European Greeks who had sided with the enemy and to settle the Ionians on the lands thus made vacant. The Athenian generals stoutly objected to the plan. They insisted that the Peloponnesians had no right to interfere between Athens and her colonies, and that the Athenians would themselves give the necessary protection. As the Peloponnesians gladly yielded, the Athenian commanders formed a close alliance with the Asiatic

Germ of the Delian Confederacy.

P. 136.

P. 127.

Pp. 8 f., 113.

Greeks, out of which the Delian Confederacy afterwards grew. In making this arrangement Athens was merely receiving a cast-off burden, but she readily accepted it as she foresaw that it would be to her interest.

Athens leader of the maritime states.

But the Lacedæmonians still wished to lead the Greeks by sea as well as by land; and so the next spring they sent out Pausanias to command the fleet of the allies in their war with Persia. He laid siege to Byzantium, which was still occupied by the enemy; but while engaged in this work he offered to betray Greece into Persian hands on condition that he might become tyrant of his country and son-in-law of the king. Meantime he was cruel and arrogant to those under his authority. The Asiatic Greeks who had joined the expedition, resenting such treatment, begged the Athenian generals, Aristeides and Cimon, to take charge of the fleet. The gentleness and courtesy of the commanders from Athens contrasted strikingly with the brutality of Pausanias. Naturally, too, the Athenians and the Asiatic Greeks sympathized with each other because of their close kinship. Aristeides and Cimon accepted the invitation, for they were as ready as Themistocles to benefit their city, even at the risk of breaking with Sparta. The Lacedæmonians recalled Pausanias to answer the charges against him, and soon afterwards yielded the leadership at sea to Athens. They saw no advantage to themselves in continuing the war with Persia and could not trust their commanders abroad. They believed, too, that they should lose none of their prestige by this arrangement, for Athens was still their ally and pledged by treaty to follow their lead in war.

Peiræus.

476 B.C.

Thuc. i, 93.

As soon as the Athenians had finished rebuilding their city, Themistocles began to fortify Peiræus. He surrounded it with a massive wall seven miles in circuit, for he wished it to be so strong that no enemy could take it

by storm, and to contain at the same time ample space for trade and industry. Peiræus soon became, next to Tyre and Carthage, the most flourishing commercial city of the Mediterranean.

Themistocles the leading statesman of Hellas.

Themistocles was in the main a man of peace; and after the battle of Salamis, he ceased to lead his countrymen in war, but remained at home in order to supervise the building of the navy and defences, and to direct the foreign affairs of Athens. His was a broad policy, designed to bring his city into relations with all Greece — especially with those states which were still independent of Sparta. He continued for a few years to be the most popular and the most influential man in Hellas. At the Olympic games, in the summer of 476 B.C., when Themistocles entered the stadium, the spectators took no further notice of the athletes, but spent the whole day in looking at him, in showing him to the strangers, and in applauding him by clapping their hands. He himself, highly gratified, admitted to his friends that he then reaped the fruit of all his labors for the Greeks.

The policy of Lacedæmon.

But Themistocles was not to remain popular much longer; for about a year after this event, by again provoking the anger of the Lacedæmonians, he prepared the way for his own ruin. To understand the causes of his downfall, it is necessary to know the aims of the Lacedæmonians. They wished to unite all the loyal states of Greece under their own leadership. As a step towards realizing this ideal they sent their king, Leotychidas, with a fleet and army to punish the Thessalians for having joined the Persian king in the late war, and to bring them under the rule of Sparta. He was successful in several battles, and might have accomplished his object, had he not accepted a bribe from the enemy. There could be no doubt as to his guilt, for the

476 B.C.

475 B.C. money he had taken was seen in his tent. On his return he was prosecuted for this misconduct and ended his life Hdt. vi, 71 f. in exile at Tegea. His grandson, Archidamus, succeeded him.

Themistocles and Lacedæmon. Thus the Lacedæmonians found it unprofitable to engage in distant military operations because of the character of their leaders. But they still hoped to gain by diplomacy P. 99 f. what they had failed to win by force. They proposed, accordingly, in the council of the Delphic League that all those states which had favored the enemy should be ejected from the League and that their places should be filled by the loyal states. This would exclude the Thessalians and the Argives, both friendly to Athens, and would substitute for them the allies of Sparta. Themistocles, the Athenian deputy in the council, by opposing the plan, kept the Lacedæmonians from gaining further power at the expense of Athens; but his conduct so angered them that they never rested thereafter till they had ruined him.

Combination against Themistocles. First, they began to stir up party strife at Athens; for from the beginning of Xerxes' invasion all political differences had been hushed and an era of good feeling had set 475 B.C. in. But now the Lacedæmonians, interfering in Athenian affairs, urged Cimon forward as a leader of the conservatives, and consequently as an opponent of Themistocles. P. 124. In this way they excited the democrats and the conservatives to raging against each other. Aristeides, though a democrat, allied himself, apparently for personal reasons, with Cimon, and several other eminent men joined the combination. Now Themistocles was by no means an amiable man. Because his ability had saved the Greeks in the late war, he deified his own genius, built a shrine to it Plut. *Themistocles.* near his house, and worshipped it under the name of "Best-counselling Artemis." His enormous egotism left no room

in the state for other public men; so all who aspired to leadership naturally became his enemies and united against him. On his return from Delphi, Leobotes, one of the Alcmeonidæ, who for ages had been at feud with the family of Themistocles, brought against him a charge of Medism, that is, of giving treasonable help or encouragement to Persia. But though the accusation was brought before the Council of the Areopagus, a thoroughly conservative body, he was acquitted and still remained popular. The people respected him for his great ability and for his services to the state, and loved him because he was in perfect touch with them; in fact, he is said to have known every one of them by name. But finally his opponents resorted to ostracism and represented him as a dangerous man. Though he had many supporters, they scattered their votes among his several opponents, while the votes of all his enemies were directed against him alone, and he was accordingly banished. He retired to Argos, and from there travelled about Peloponnese. Wherever he went, democracy sprang up in his footsteps and expressed itself in rebellion against Sparta. Elis, Arcadia, and Argos now became democratic. The spirit of freedom awakened by the war with Persia was acting upon all Hellas; in Peloponnese its tendency was, by arousing opposition to oligarchy, to disorganize the League. The Arcadians joined Argos in a war with Sparta, but were easily defeated. Sparta took advantage of this victory to reorganize the League, so as to knit it firmly together; by gaining more thorough control of its resources she prepared to maintain her supremacy and her political principles against the encroachments of Athens and the democracy.

475 B.C.

Ostracism of Themistocles, about 472 B.C.

P. 79.

While the Lacedæmonians were having these troubles, Pausanias was annoying them by his conduct. He not only

End of Pausanias.

P. 146.

continued his treasonable correspondence with Persia, but even began to intrigue with the helots, promising them citizenship if they would support him in his plans. No sooner had the ephors got evidence of all his doings and resolved to arrest him, than he fled for refuge to a shrine of Athena. Fearing to drag him away, they walled him in, so that he died of starvation; and thus the Lacedæmonians brought upon themselves the curse of impiety.

472–471 B.C.

Thuc. i, 131–134. P. 46.

Themistocles implicated.

The ephors now alleged that they had found some correspondence between Pausanias and Themistocles which, they said, proved Themistocles also guilty of Medism. They demanded that he should be tried for this crime. He had long been a thorn in the flesh, and they had now found a means of removing him once for all. Athenian officers, accompanied by Lacedæmonians, went to Peloponnese to bring him to Athens for trial. Themistocles, hearing of their coming, escaped to Corcyra, and after various wanderings made his way to the court of the Persian king. Here he found safety from his pursuers; he was kindly received and given the revenues of some Greek cities[1] in western Asia Minor, which were apparently still under the Persian rule. He may have made the king some promise of subduing Greece, but he certainly did nothing to carry it into effect. Finally he died of sickness, though some of the Greeks believed that he took poison to avoid fulfilling his promise to the king. Thus Themistocles, who was perhaps the greatest of the Greeks, ended his life in obscurity and dishonor; but years afterwards he became, next to Solon, the idol of the Athenians. Aristophanes, the comic writer, tells how the citizens of a later age looked back to him as to a rich and generous host,—

Thuc. i, 135.

464 B.C.

His death.

Thuc. i, 138.

[1] Magnesia, Myus, and Lampsacus.

Who found us exhausted and filled us anew
With a bumper of opulence; carving and sharing
Rich slices of empire; and kindly preparing,
While his guests were at dinner, a capital supper,
With a dainty remove both under and upper,
The fort and the harbor, and many a dish
Of colonies, islands, and such kind of fish.

*Knights*, 813 ff.

If, too, in after time an Athenian orator wished to bring before his hearers the picture of a great warrior, statesman, and patriot in contrast with some contemporary who betrayed his country's interests, he needed only mention the name of Themistocles.

Cf. Lys. xii, 63.

It was Themistocles who, by the creation of a navy and harbor, prepared the way for the supremacy of Athens in the Ægean Sea. In 478 B.C. the Athenians had secured the leadership of the Ægean cities recently liberated from Persia, and in the following year they organized their new alliance. It centred at the shrine of Apollo on the island of Delos, and was named therefore the Delian Confederacy. Naturally its constitution was patterned after that of the Peloponnesian League. The allies were to furnish ships and crews led by Athenian generals, and a congress of deputies from all the allied states was to meet at Delos under the presidency of representatives from Athens. But in important respects the Delian Confederacy differed from the Peloponnesian League. It was necessary to maintain a large fleet in the Ægean as a defence against the Persians, whereas no standing force was needed for the protection of Peloponnese. Money is absolutely necessary for the support of a fleet; hence the Delian Confederacy, unlike the Peloponnesian League, levied annual taxes. Aristeides, who was commissioned to take the first census, decided which states should furnish ships with their crews and which should contribute money. The larger communities gener-

The Delian Confederacy. Pp. 126, 146.

P. 79.

Census of Aristeides, 477 B.C.

Thuc. I, 96 f.

ally provided naval forces, while the smaller paid taxes. The total annual cost of maintaining the Confederacy amounted, by the assessment of Aristeides, to four hundred and sixty talents. It remained about the same for half a century. The treasury, in the temple of the Delian Apollo, was managed by treasurers who were exclusively Athenians.

P. 22 f. The Confederacy itself, which was based on the older religious league of Delos, was placed under the protection of Apollo.

Growth of the Confederacy.

With Cimon as leader, the Delian Confederacy rapidly expanded till it came, within a few years, to include the eastern and northern coasts and most of the islands of the Ægean. The Persians were dislodged from this whole region, and there was little apparent danger from them for the present. But this very feeling of security proved to be

Thuc. i, 99. extremely mischievous. Many of the allies, finding military service irksome, offered to pay taxes instead. Cimon advised the Athenians to accept these payments, as they could build and equip triremes at less expense than the separate allied towns, and hence could fulfil their agreement to protect the Ægean, give work to the laboring class among themselves, and have money left for their own public use. It was a further consideration that a fleet made up chiefly of Athenians would be far more united, and thus more efficient, than if composed of unwilling allies. The disarming of the allies, on the other hand, naturally degraded them to the condition of protected subjects. Then some grew tired even of paying the tribute. Indeed, they could no longer see the need of a confederacy since the Persians had ceased to trouble them. They did not reflect that it was the Athenian navy which kept the oppressor at

P. 110. a distance, and that as soon as they should be left unprotected the Persian satrap would once more send them his

tax-gatherers. It became henceforth a more difficult task to prevent the disruption of the Confederacy than to defend it against foreign enemies.

Naxos was the first to revolt. It had a strong navy and expected aid from Persia; but Cimon besieged the island and reduced it before help could arrive. The Naxians were compelled to tear down their walls, surrender their fleet, and pay henceforth an annual tribute. Thus Naxos lost its freedom and became dependent on Athens. Soon afterwards, at the mouth of the Eurymedon on the coast of Pamphylia, Cimon gained a double victory over a Phœnician fleet and a land force of Persians. As a result of this battle the Persians gave up hoping to recover their Greek possessions: —

Revolt of Naxos.

469 B.C.

468 B.C.

Thuc. i, 100.

> Now with adverse turn of fortune,
> With Ionian seamen meeting,
> Fails in war the race of Persians.

Æsch. *Pers.* 1011 ff.

Another outcome of the victory was that the Carian and Lycian coasts came into the Delian Confederacy, bringing the number of cities up to about two hundred.

Next came the revolt of Thasos, the cause of which was a quarrel between the Athenians and the Thasians as to certain gold mines of Thrace, in which both had an interest. Thasos was one of the strongest of the allies. It had a fleet of thirty-three ships, valuable possessions in Thrace, and a foreign policy of its own. After a siege of two years Cimon reduced the island, and punished it just as he had Naxos.

Revolt of Thasos, 465 B.C.

463 B.C.

Athens was now reaching a high degree of prosperity, while Sparta was declining. Through jealousy of the growing power of their rival, the Lacedæmonians began to interfere in the affairs of the Confederacy. They had secretly encouraged the Thasians to hold out against Athens

Earthquake at Sparta.

Thuc. i, 101.

by promising to invade Attica. This agreement, however, they were prevented from fulfilling by a terrible earthquake,
Plut. *Cimon.* which nearly destroyed Sparta. Only a few houses were left standing, and thousands of lives were lost. Many of the helots had recently been slain on suspicion of having
P. 149. intrigued with Pausanias. The authorities at Sparta had even dragged some away from sanctuaries and put them to death. Hence the earthquake was regarded by the lower classes in Laconia as a divine punishment visited upon
Revolt of the helots. Lacedæmon for her sin. The helots revolted, and in the general confusion caused by earthquake and superstition they nearly captured Sparta by surprise. But most of the periœci remained loyal, and the shattered city was saved
P. 148. by the promptness of King Archidamus. The insurgents,
P. 57. who were mostly Messenians, seized and fortified, in their own country, Mount Ithome, one of the strongest military
Thuc. i, 101 f. positions in Peloponnese. As the Lacedæmonians could accomplish nothing against them single-handed, they asked help of their allies, including the Athenians. When the envoys reached Athens, a hot debate ensued as to whether aid should be sent. After the banishment of Themistocles, the democratic party, believing that Sparta was a dead weight attached to Athens, continued to uphold his policy
Ephialtes. of cutting loose from Peloponnese. Its leader was now Themistocles' friend, Ephialtes, a good citizen and an upright statesman. He vehemently opposed the resolution to send assistance to the Lacedæmonians and advised that "the pride and arrogance of Sparta be trodden under." Cimon, who was present, was of the opposite opinion. He was only a half-Athenian by birth,[1] and his natural character led him to sympathize with the Lacedæmonians. In
Plut. *Cimon.* the debate with Ephialtes, he urged the Athenians "not to

[1] His mother was the daughter of a Thracian tribal chief.

suffer Greece to be lamed or Athens to be deprived of her yoke-mate," meaning that the alliance between these two states should be preserved by every means. His public policy was war with the Persians and close union with Sparta. Thus Cimon had come to be a great representative of the principle of Hellenic unity. The ideal was grand, and if attained would have proved the salvation of Greece. But unfortunately it was impracticable. Sparta and Athens were growing so unlike in character that they could no longer work in harmony. The rigid discipline of the Spartans was making them hard, narrow, and ignorant; on the other hand, the Athenian taste was growing more intellectual and refined; the Athenians were fast becoming a community of public men quick to plan and ready in action, "the only people who succeed to the full extent of their hope, because they undertake forthwith whatever they have resolved to do." Union with Sparta meant submission to Sparta — the slavery of mind to muscle. The mission of Athens was moral, intellectual, and artistic as well as political; and if she was to achieve her utmost for the world, it was necessary for her to be free from all external restraints. Cimon's Laconian policy was, therefore, probably a mistake. Nevertheless he prevailed, and led a force of Athenians against Ithome.

Sparta and Athens.

P. 57 f.

Thuc. i, 70.

462 B.C.

Cimon left his party without a leader at a very critical time. Since the war with Persia democratic ideas had been gaining ground at Athens. Influenced by Aristeides, the government had begun to pay for public service, in order that the poor might stand on an equality with the rich in their relations with the state. Thus Aristeides introduced a radical democratic principle into the constitution. The only important conservative element remaining in it was the Council of the Areopagus. As the Areopagites

Council of the Areopagus

held office for life, they were usually a generation behind
462 B.C. time in the questions of the day. In Cimon's absence
Arist. *Ath. Const.* 25; Plut. *Pericles.* Ephialtes directed an attack upon this body, and carried a measure which deprived it of all political authority. It remained little more than a court with jurisdiction in cases of murder.

Cimon and Pericles. Ephialtes was supported in this measure by Pericles, son of Xanthippus. Though a young man, Pericles was already recognized as a prominent leader of the democrats against the conservative Cimon. The antagonism of these two men was all the keener from the fact that they were hereditary opponents. Cimon, who had acquired enormous
P. 123. wealth through his victories, spent it liberally on the state and the citizens. He was a noble of the old stamp in an age when men of his class were rare. His attitude towards
Plut. *Cimon.* the people of his township was that of a great lord towards his retainers; he had the fences pulled down from about his orchards that his neighbors might freely enjoy the fruit; his table was plain, but all his townsmen were welcome to eat with him. Those who were thus maintained at his expense supported him in political life. Cimon was not dangerous to the state, though a man in his position might easily become so. The idea of Pericles was to enlist the citizens in the service of the state, that they might be at-
Pay for jury service. tached to it rather than to individuals like Cimon. His chief means to this end was the passage of an act to pay jurors a small fee, probably two obols (six cents) a day, for their service. Thus he and Ephialtes finished the work which Aristeides had begun, and Athens became a pure
462 B.C. (?) democracy. Ephialtes was soon afterward assassinated, probably by political enemies.

Meantime the Athenian troops at Ithome failed to carry the insurgents' position; and the Lacedæmonian authori-

ties, suspecting them of treachery, insolently dismissed them. Cimon returned to Athens an unpopular man. In trying to check the rising tide of democracy, he was met with taunts of over-fondness for Sparta and of immorality in his private life. Athens abandoned his policy, broke loose from Sparta, and began to form an alliance of her own wholly independent of the Peloponnesian League. Cimon's resistance to these new movements led to his ostracism in 461 B.C.

Alliance between Athens and Sparta dissolved, 462 B.C. Thuc. i, 102.

Before the war with Persia the highest Greek culture was on the circumference of Hellas; the colonists had outstripped the mother country. And for a time after the war Syracuse remained the most brilliant city of Greece, though it declined on the death of Hieron. Greek civilization now gravitated towards Athens. Selecting the best elements of Hellenic culture it could find, this city brought them to perfection.

Athens leads in civilization.

When the Persians destroyed Athens, they had left the Acropolis strewn with the wrecks of temples and sculpture. Themistocles had begun the restoration of the Acropolis; Cimon continued the work and, with the proceeds from the spoils of Eurymedon, made a great substructure on the south slope of the Acropolis to prepare a level site for a parthenon, or temple of Athena. But the building of the temple itself was left to Pericles. Cimon adorned the city in various ways. He planted shade trees in the Academy, beneath whose sacred olives the modest boys of Athens used to run races "crowned with white reeds, smelling of yew, of careless hours, and of the leaf-shedding poplar, rejoicing in the fragrant spring, when the plane tree whispers to the elm." The older people, too, found it a delightful refuge from the crowded population and the barren rocks of the city. In going to the Academy, the Athenian left

Cimon adorns the city.

P. 153.

The Academy.

Aristoph. *Clouds*, 1005 ff.

The Cerameicus.

the city by the Dipylon gate and passed through the Cerameicus, a national cemetery which Cimon set apart for those of his countrymen who had fallen in battle.

"The Painted Porch."

One of Cimon's kinsmen built a colonnade in the market-place, in a newly planted grove of plane trees, and Polyg-

AN ATHENIAN GRAVESTONE

(From the Cerameicus. National Museum, Athens.)

Polygnotus.

notus of Thasos and other famous painters of the age adorned the interior with mural pictures. Among these were scenes from the mythical past and others from recent history. The most noted of the pictures was the "Battle of Marathon," in which the figures of Miltiades, Callimachus (the polemarch), and Æschylus were prominent. The artists selected this subject in honor of the family of their patron, Cimon. The style of Polygnotus was heroic and

Pausanias, i, 15.

simple, expressing the spirit of the age. To him man was the absorbing theme, which permitted but a dim suggestion of nature in the background.

The great sculptor of the time was Myron of Athens, the predecessor of Pheidias. He was the artist of the moment; his "crouching Discobolus is like an arrow sped from a bow." For the first time art had so developed that the story of the whole action could be read from the momentary attitude of the figure. This probably came through the influence of the drama. Athens was now distinctly taking the lead in art; her only rival was the friendly city of Argos.

Myron.

Holm, ii, p. 169.

DISCOBOLUS

(After Myron. Vatican Museum, Rome.)

Lyric poetry was still represented by Pindar, whose spirit and ideas belong to the preceding period, and by Simonides, who was older in years than Pindar, though more modern in style and thought. These men, belonging to no city, were thoroughly national in spirit. The poet of the age, however, was Æschylus, the first of the great Attic dramatists. He fought in the battles of Marathon and Salamis, and from them he drew his inspiration. To the

Lyric poetry — Pindar and Simonides, pp. 90 f., 141.

Dramatic poetry — Æschylus.

day of his death he remained a warrior in spirit, as is indicated by the epitaph composed, it is believed, by himself:

He died at Gela in Sicily.

This tomb the dust of Æschylus doth hide —
Euphorion's son and fruitful Gela's pride;
How famed his valor Marathon may tell,
And long-haired Medes, who knew it all too well.

ZEUS

(Vatican Museum. It was formerly believed that this was copied after the Olympian Zeus of Pheidias; but the original is now known to be no older than the age of Alexander.)

But not a word is said of his poetry.

His religion.

Æschylus was a man of gigantic mind and emotions; he set before himself the task of solving the problems of the universe. Although he clung to the ancient belief in all the gods as supernatural powers, yet, above all — above even the Zeus of popular conception — he placed a supreme being who, though perhaps nameless, permitted his worshippers to call him Zeus. The following is a bold, grand conception of the power and wisdom of the God in whom he believed: —

*Suppliants*, 85 ff. (Morshead.)

Though the deep will of Zeus be hard to track,
Yet doth it flame and glance,
A beacon in the dark 'mid clouds of chance
That wrap mankind.

Yea, though the counsel fall, undone it shall not lie,
Whate'er be shaped and fixed within Zeus' ruling mind—
Dark as a solemn grove, with sombre leafage shaded
His paths of purpose wind,
A marvel to men's eye.
Smitten by him, from towering hopes degraded,
Mortals lie low and still;
Tireless and effortless works forth its will
The arm divine!
God from his holy seat, in calm of unarmed power,
Brings forth the deed at its appointed hour!

As for men, their duty is piety towards the gods, kindliness to the weak and unfortunate, and strict observance of the eternal law of righteousness. The early Greeks were of the opinion that excessive prosperity brought upon a family the envy of the gods, which in the end caused its ruin. Æschylus was the first to teach that not prosperity itself, but the insolence and crime which excessive wealth tends to produce are the real cause of such a family's overthrow:— Doctrine of divine envy.

For wanton Pride from blossom grows to fruit, *Pers.* 821 f.
The full corn in the ear of utter woe,
And reaps a tear-fraught harvest.

The most heinous of all crimes was the shedding of kindred blood: "Destiny is the armorer that forges the sword in readiness and causes one murder in a family to bring forth another. And in due time deep-minded Fury pays to the uttermost the guilt of former murders," by bringing the guilt-stained house to a wretched end. But the gods are merciful and chasten men for their own salvation: "A god it is who leads mortals on the way to wisdom, and who has ordained that sufferings should convey instruction. For anxiety that is ever recalling past woes, presenting itself to the heart in sleep, instils obedience, and so it comes even to the unwilling: and perhaps this is a mercy of the gods who sit on their awful thrones with power to compel." *Choëphori*, 646 ff. Suffering teaches. *Agamemnon*, 176 ff.

### Sources

Reading.

Most valuable are the poets of the time,—Æschylus, Pindar, Simonides, and others,—whose works have in part come down to us; then Thuç. i; Aristotle, *Ath. Const.* 23 f.; Plutarch, *Themistocles*, *Aristeides*, and *Cimon;* Diodorus, xi.

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The best continuous treatment of the subject is **Holm,** *History of Greece*, II, chs. vi–xii.

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(2) Eastern Greece: **Holm,** II, chs. vii–ix; Oman, *History of Greece*, ch. xxii, xxiii; **Abbott,** *History of Greece*, II, chs. vi–viii; Curtius, II, bk. iii, ch. ii; Grote, V, chs. xliv, xlv; Timayenis, *History of Greece*, I, pt. iv, chs. i–v; Cox, *Athenian Empire*, ch. i; *Greek Statesmen*, I: *Aristeides*, *Themistocles*, *Pausanias*; II: *Ephialtes*, *Kimon;* Botsford, *Development of the Athenian Constitution*, ch. xii.

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PERICLES

(Copied after Cresilas, a Cretan artist of the fifth century B.C. British Museum.)

## CHAPTER IX

### THE AGE OF PERICLES — GROWING ANTAGONISM BETWEEN OLIGARCHY AND DEMOCRACY (461-431 B.C.)

Sicily, 461-431 B.C.

WE left the history of Sicilian affairs in 461 B.C. at the time of the establishment of the independent republics. Two years later, Ducetius, a bold and able chief of the Sicel tribes of the interior, united his people into a nation and proceeded to capture one Greek city after another. He evidently aimed to conquer the whole island. Although Acragas and Syracuse, by combined effort, managed to overthrow him, he regained his leadership, made an alliance with Syracuse, and was progressing rapidly in reuniting the Sicels, when his death relieved Sicily of great

P. 142.

453 B.C.

444 B.C. danger. Thereafter his people came rapidly under the influence of Greek civilization. The war with Ducetius was followed by a time of remarkable prosperity, in which the Greek cities of Sicily built many magnificent temples.

Italy. Like the Sicels, the Samnites of the mountains in central Italy, joining their tribes in a strong federation, were preparing for a descent on the Greek settlements of the coast. This movement of the interior tribes against the coast cities

P. 246. was to continue for nearly two centuries and to affect the whole history of Italy and of the world.

Eastern Greece, 461–431 B.C. The history of eastern Greece during this period is crowded with events. With the assassination of Ephialtes and the ostracism of Cimon, Athens came under the leader-

Pericles. ship of Pericles. He was heir to the foreign policy of Themistocles and Ephialtes, to the constitutional principles of Aristeides, and to Cimon's patronage of culture. For thirty years, chiefly through the office of general, which he often held, Pericles governed his city and its empire

Plut. *Pericles.* with almost autocratic power. Under his guidance Athens

462 B.C. deserted the Peloponnesian League and allied itself with

Thuc. i, 102. Argos and Thessaly, powers unfriendly to Lacedæmon. Megaris soon afterward came into alliance with Athens to

Thuc. i, 103. protect itself against the encroachments of Corinth. With the consent of the Megarians, Athens occupied their two ports, Nisæa and Pegæ, with troops. In this way the city of Pericles extended its commercial influence in the Saronic Gulf and opened a fine outlook westward through the Co-

459 B.C. (?) rinthian Gulf. A little later, the helots of Mount Ithome

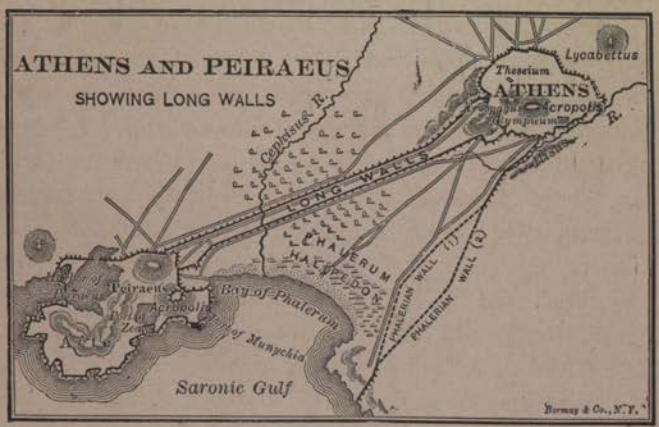
P. 154. surrendered on the condition that they should leave Peloponnese forever. Athens settled them at Naupactus, near the mouth of the Corinthian Gulf. These helots were a brave people and proved as faithful allies as Athens ever had.

The activity of the Athenians in these years was astonish-

ing. By sending two hundred triremes to Egypt to aid that country in its revolt from Persia, Athens aimed at once to strike a blow at her chief enemy and to secure an influence over Egypt. As the Athenians were obliged now to import perhaps the greater part of their food material, they took an especial interest in the Nile valley because of its unrivalled productivity in grain. Soon after the departure of this great armament, war broke out between Athens on the one side and the Æginetans, Corinthians, and some other Peloponnesians on the other. This was the first serious disturbance of that peace among the Hellenes which their common resistance to Persia had brought about. The Athenians were victorious over their enemies by land and by sea — in Megaris and off Ægina. They then landed on

Egyptian Expedition, 459 B.C. Thuc. i, 104.

War with the Peloponnesians, 458 B.C. Thuc. i, 105 f.




EXPLANATION: It is uncertain whether the Phalerian Wall followed (1) or (2).

that island and laid siege to the city. At the same time they began to build two long walls, — four and four and a half miles in length, — one connecting Athens with Phalerum, the other with Peiræus. Several years later they made a third wall parallel with the second mentioned, in order to

"Long Walls." Thuc. i, 107.

have a fortified road to the sea. Their purpose was not only to secure communication between city and harbors in case of siege, but also to provide a place of safety for the country people with their movable property. They were right in thinking that as long as Athens maintained these walls and her naval supremacy, she was absolutely safe from every external enemy. The conservatives opposed this undertaking, as it indicated a willingness on the part of Athens to engage in war with her near neighbors; but their party had been so thoroughly disorganized by the ostracism of Cimon that it could make no open resistance. A few of their number intrigued with the Lacedæmonians, inviting them to interfere and stop the building of the walls. Because of their traitorous attachment to Sparta, the stronghold of oligarchy, these Athenian conservatives were henceforth called "oligarchs," a name odious to the patriots through its association with treason and conspiracy.

P. 157.

Bœotian League restored, 457 B.C.

P. 130.

It seems that the Lacedæmonians accepted the invitation of these oligarchs, for they immediately introduced a strong army into central Greece to check the progress of Athenian influence in that quarter. Since the war with Persia, Thebes had been in disgrace on account of her Medism, and had lost control of Bœotia. The Lacedæmonians, though opposed to all federations but their own, restored the Bœotian League, with Thebes at its head, as a counterpoise to Athens. The Athenians with their allies marched forth and engaged the Peloponnesians at Tanagra. This was the first actual battle ever fought between the Athenians and the Lacedæmonians. It was a bloody struggle, but the Athenians were worsted, partly because the Thessalian horse deserted to the enemy.

457 B.C. Thuc. i, 107 f.

The Lacedæmonians now returned home, leaving the Bœotians in the lurch. Two months later the Athenians

ATHENIAN EMPIRE
at its height
Allied states
Dependent states
THRACE
MACEDON
EPEIRUS
THESSALY
CHALCIDICE
THRACIAN SEA
AEGEAN SEA
IONIAN SEA
PROPONTIS
TROYLAND
MT. OLYMPUS
MT. PINDUS
IDA MT.
TMOLUS MT.
Byzantium
Lampsacus
Potidaea
Amphipolis
Eion
THASOS
LESBOS
SCYROS
CHIOS
SAMOS
Ephesus
Miletus
Clazomenae
Magnesia
Macander R.
Hermus R.
Caystet R.
Naupactus
Thebes
Athens
Piraeus
Chalcis
EUBOEA
BOEOTIA
ATTICA
ACHAEA
ELIS
ARCADIA
Corinth
Argos
Sparta
MESSENIA
LACONIA
ARGOLIC GULF
LACONIAN GULF
MESSENIAN GULF
Ambracian Gulf
CORCYRA
LEUCAS
CEPHALLENIA
ZACYNTHUS
DELOS
NAXOS
MELOS
THERA
Strymon R.
Peneus R.
Achelous R.
Alpheus R.
CAMBUNIAN MTS.
MOLOSSIS
AETOLIA
LOCRIS
PHTHIOTIS
MENIS
AEGINA
TROEZENE
PAMISUS R.
18
20
22
24
26
41
39
37

under Myronides, an able general, again took the field and defeated the Bœotians at Œnophyta. Through this victory Athens brought into her alliance all the towns of Bœotia except Thebes, also Phocis, already friendly, and Locris. The Athenians expelled the oligarchs from the Bœotian towns and set up democratic governments favorable to themselves. This policy proved unwise. The banishment of an entire political party from so many towns created for Athens more enmity than friendship. But for a time everything went well. Ægina surrendered, dismantled her walls, and entered the Delian Confederacy as a tributary state, paying thirty talents a year. About the same time Trœzen and Achæa made an alliance with Athens. The Athenians were now at the height of their power. Their Continental Federation, which extended from the Isthmus to Thermopylæ, included, in addition, not only Argos, Trœzen, and Achæa in Peloponnese, but also Naupactus, an important station controlling the entrance to the Corinthian Gulf. If Athens could cement this great alliance, it would be in itself as strong as the Peloponnesian League. The Ægean Sea was now an Athenian lake. The maritime empire whose resources Pericles commanded extended from the Black Sea to Caria and thence to Eubœa. The Peloponnesians had no effective way of assailing this great power, while their own coasts were everywhere exposed to Athenian attack. But Athens soon experienced a dreadful misfortune. The two hundred triremes sent to Egypt were taken by the Persians. A reënforcement of fifty ships also came into their hands. This was the first great reverse of the Athenians. Their activity in recent years had been prodigious; but they were now compelled from sheer exhaustion to adopt a more friendly policy in relation to their neighbors.

Thuc. i, 108. Athenian "Continental Federation."

456 B.C.

Disaster in Egypt. Thuc. i, 109 f.

454 B.C.

Five years' truce with Lacedæmon, 451 B.C. *Pericles.*

The battle at Tanagra had its effect on Athenian politics. Through the mediation of Cimon's sister, Elpinice, — if we may trust a story told by Plutarch, — an agreement was entered into between Cimon and Pericles that the former should not interfere in internal politics, and that the latter should be willing to make peace with Sparta and allow the prosecution of the war with Persia. On these terms Pericles carried a decree recalling Cimon from banishment. The gallant conduct of Cimon's friends in the battle of Tanagra was the immediate occasion for this compromise. In 451–450 B.C. Cimon made for his city a five years' truce with Lacedæmon. At the same time Argos concluded peace with Sparta for thirty years. Cimon may have felt that a truce with Sparta, if even for a brief period, was very desirable, but he seems to have purchased it at too high a price. Athens should by all means have clung to her Argive alliance. However, the Hellenic peace left Cimon free to resume the war with Persia. In 449 B.C. he sailed with two hundred triremes to conquer Cyprus. But he died on the expedition, and though the fleet destroyed a strong Phœnician armament, his project came to naught. His death was a great loss to the Athenians; he was their Nelson, the winner of more naval victories than any other Greek. In his lifetime Athens achieved her best in international politics. After his death, the energies of his city were turned to internal improvement.

Thuc. i, 112.

Cimon's death, 449 B.C.

Fall of the Continental Federation, 447 B.C.

The Athenian Continental Federation was short-lived. The oligarchic exiles invaded Bœotia, defeated the Athenians, and compelled them to evacuate the country. At the same time Athens lost control of Locris and Phocis. Then Eubœa revolted, and a Peloponnesian army under King Pleistoanax invaded Attica. The Megarians massacred the Athenian garrison at Nisæa and joined the Peloponnesians.

Pericles induced Pleistoanax to withdraw, possibly by bribing him, and then quickly reduced Eubœa. Thus by his energy and diplomacy he rescued his city from extreme peril. Athens was exhausted, and needed a breathing-time.

In 445 B.C. a truce for thirty years was made between the two hostile powers. Athens gave up all her continental allies except Platæa and Naupactus. In other respects the *status quo* was preserved. Neither party was to interfere with the allies of the other, but alliances with strangers could be made at pleasure. All difficulties were to be settled by arbitration, yet unfortunately no means was provided beforehand for this. Athens suffered most by the treaty, as she was not only excluded from Peloponnese but also lost control of the Corinthian Gulf and the Isthmus. She gained, on the other hand, an acknowledgment of her maritime supremacy. It is possible that a treaty was made about this date between Athens and Persia. At least, their relations with each other were peaceful from this time on for many years.

Thirty Years' Truce, 445 B.C. Thuc. i, 115.

We have seen in the preceding chapter how the allies of Athens were gradually reduced to the condition of subjects. The change from confederacy to empire was completed by the transfer of the treasury from Delos to Athens, probably in 454 B.C. Athena now became the protecting deity of the empire. Only the Lesbians, Chians, and Samians remained free and equal allies of Athens; these had whatever forms of government they desired. The other states were required to make new treaties with Athens by which they adopted democratic constitutions, and agreed to send their important law cases to Athens for trial. Later statesmen and writers were generally of the opinion that the greatness of Athens in war and in peace depended upon the tributes from her allies. These revenues enabled the city of Peri-

The Athenian maritime Empire, 454–431 B.C. P. 152. Greenidge, pp. 189–204.

cles to make its enormous contribution to civilization, to beautify itself with public works, to provide the citizens with magnificent festivals, to give remunerative employment to most of its people, to build and maintain powerful fleets and the impregnable defences of Athens and Peiræus.

P. 271. Pericles planted many colonies in the allied states, which, besides serving as garrisons for the protection of the empire, furnished the poorer Athenians with lands. Thus both city and citizens were benefited by the empire. The allies, too, enjoyed the advantages of peace. Never before or afterward did they have equal opportunity for commerce or

Cf. Thuc. viii, 24. for quiet country life. The annual tribute was more than balanced by an increase in wealth and prosperity. The commons, everywhere protected by Athens from the insolence of their own oligarchs, remained faithful. The merchants also were loyal because of the commercial advantages which the empire brought. Only the families which had once ruled their communities and the market-place politicians were actively engaged in fomenting opposition to Athenian rule. To find fault was easy. It must have been inconvenient and expensive to carry suits to Athens, and the ruling city may have been too severe in requiring it; but it conduced to the internal peace of the empire, and probably gave justice to those who could not have expected fair treatment in the local courts. The Athenian empire, though defective, was the highest political development

Thuc. iii, 47. which the Greeks had yet reached; undoubtedly the great majority in all the states of the empire were satisfied with it to the end.

Thucydides, son of Melesias (not the historian). These imperial ideas of Pericles met with opposition. Thucydides, son of Melesias, was a near kinsman of Cimon and heir to his conservative principles. He was no soldier, but a far more skilful politician than Cimon, and an effec-

tive orator besides. Gathering up the shattered remnants of the conservative party, he led it in a last desperate attack upon the policy of Pericles. He charged the democratic statesman with the transfer of the confederate treasury to Athens, and the use of the funds for the decoration of the city. The negotiations at Susa, the Persian capital, he termed "paying court to the king," and set it down as treason to Greece. For a long time he opposed Pericles in the assembly on every public measure. Finally his party, representing Pericles as aiming at tyranny, risked everything on a vote of ostracism. The Athenians banished Thucydides, and thus gave Pericles free scope for his policy at home and abroad.

Plut. *Pericles.*

P. 169.

442 B.C.

Soon afterward Samos revolted. This was an evil omen for the empire, for the Samians had always been the most faithful allies and most zealous supporters of Athens. Byzantium revolted also in sympathy with Samos, and there was danger of a general defection. Pericles acted with great energy. The Samians expected help from both Persia and Lacedæmon, but none came. The Persians were not ready, and Corinth had again prevailed upon Lacedæmon not to interfere with Athens. After a nine months' siege Samos surrendered. It was deprived of its freedom and compelled to pay the expenses of the war. Byzantium yielded without resistance. This success strengthened Pericles and made the empire more solid than before.

Revolt of Samos, 440 B.C. Thuc. i, 115 ff.

P. 84 ff.

While the Athenians were consolidating their empire in the Ægean, they were endeavoring to extend their influence over western Greece. There was in this century a lively interchange of wares between Peiræus on one side and Italy, Sicily, and Carthage on the other. Pericles had scarcely come to power when Athens began to make treaties with western communities. Long before his time, Sybaris,

Athens and the West.

510 B.C.

the most opulent city of Italy, had been destroyed by the men of Croton. When peace was made between Athens and Lacedæmon, Pericles, at the request of the surviving
445 B.C. Sybarites, sent thither a colony of Athenians and Peloponnesians. The Sybarites were admitted to the new community but were soon expelled because they insisted on
Thurii, 443 B.C. being the aristocrats of the place. After this, Pericles reënforced the settlement, now named Thurii, with colonists from various parts of Greece. He wished it to be considered a pan-Hellenic enterprise under the conduct of Athens, but he failed in this as in all his endeavors to accustom the Greeks to regard his own city as leader. Thus it happened that the new colony, though democratic, acknowledged not Athens, but the Delphic Apollo, as founder. And, in general, it may be said that the course of events hindered Athens from forming a close political connection with the West till towards the end of the century.

The Periclean democracy, 461–431 B.C. The strengthening of the empire and the extension of Athenian influence over Greece were but a part of the policy of Pericles. He desired also to give permanence to the ideas of political equality which had lately come into existence. In putting his wishes into effect he was aided by the best sentiment of the age. Nearly all the eminent men of his time were democrats. They insisted chiefly on the fact that the poor were as virtuous and as capable as the
Æsch. *Agamemnon*, 774 ff. rich. "Justice shines in smoke-grimed houses and holds in regard the life that is righteous; she leaves with averted eyes the gold-bespangled palace which is unclean and goes to the abode that is holy." With such teachings Æschylus
Plato, *Protagoras*, 322 C. prepared the way for the Periclean democracy. "Any one who is just and reverent," said Protagoras, an eminent philosopher and friend of Pericles, "is qualified to give advice

on public affairs." Pericles had aided in the overthrow of the Council of the Areopagus. It was his conviction that the Athenians were no longer children in politics, that they had reached a maturity of experience which made them capable of governing themselves without the interference of a council which had come down to them from an oligarchic age. Pericles intended that the people should protect their constitution by means of the supreme court which Solon had instituted. It was to contain six thousand jurors. These were divided normally into panels, or smaller courts,[1] of five hundred and one each. As cases were decided by a majority vote, the odd number was to prevent a tie. Originally the archons were judges and the courts simply received appeals from their decisions; but in the time of Pericles the archons had come to be mere clerks, who prepared cases for presentation to the courts and presided over these through the trial, with no power to influence the decision. The final stage in the decline of the archonship was reached in 457 B.C., when an act was passed admitting the zeugitæ to that office. As the archons declined, the jurors gained in importance. Their large number made bribery and intimidation difficult. This was especially salutary as there was a tendency among Greek nobles to override the laws and trample upon the rights of common people. The Athenian jury system, on the other hand, was defective from the fact that it is easier to excite the feelings of a multitude than of a few persons. Then, too, these large bodies of men, taken for the most part from the less wealthy class and absolutely free from the control of a judge, often acted from political motives; as they were intensely democratic, an oligarch was not sure of fair treatment at their hands.

P. 42 ff.

Popular supreme court.

P. 54.

Arist. *Ath. Const.* 26.

[1] *Dicasteria*, plural of *dicasterium*.

Nomothetæ. Gilbert, p. 300 ff.

The legislative power resided chiefly in these courts. Once a year the nomothetæ, a special body of sworn jurors, met and received from the Council of Five Hundred and the assembly proposals for new laws, and, after hearing them discussed, decided upon them by a majority vote. Laws thus made were distinguished from the decrees passed by the Council of Five Hundred and the assembly in their management of the current business of government.[1] In addition to the legislative function, the courts protected the existing laws and constitution through their power to try any one who proposed an illegal measure.

Illegal proposals. Gilbert, p. 299 f.

The juror's fee.

The introduction of a fee enabled the poorest citizen to attend to jury service. The juror's pay was that of an unskilled day laborer or of an oarsman in the trireme. If frugally managed, it sufficed for the daily wants of a small family.

Aristoph. *Wasps*, 300 ff.

*Father.* Is it not enough that I
With this paltry pay must buy
Fuel, bread, and sauce for three?
Must I needs buy figs for thee!

*Boy.* Father, if the archon say
That the court won't sit to-day,
Tell me truly, father mine,
Have we wherewithal to dine?

But there was no pauper class in Athens at this time; nor did men wish to become jurors to avoid manual labor. They had been oarsmen and hoplites in their younger days, and now, for the most part too old to work, they were drawing their juror's fee as a kind of pension, for which indeed they were required to sit on the benches judging from early morning till late at night.

[1] Laws were *nomoi*, plural of *nomos*, and *nomothetæ* signifies lawmakers; decrees were *psephismata*, plural of *psephisma*.

The judicial system was the keystone in the democratic arch; the jurors were the supreme power in the Athenian state and empire.

Importance of the courts.

*Chorus of Jurors*

Comic account of judicial business. Aristoph. *Wasps*, 549 ff.

No kinglier power than ours in any part of the world exists.
Is there any creature on earth more blest, more feared, and petted from day to day,
Or that leads a happier, pleasanter life, than a justice of Athens, though old and gray?
For first when rising from bed in the morn, to the criminal court betimes I trudge,
Great six-foot fellows are there at the rails, in anxious haste to salute their Judge.
And the delicate hand, which has dipt so deep in the public purse, he claps into mine,
And he bows before me and makes his prayer, and softens his voice to a pitiful whine.

* * * * * * * * * * *

So when they have begged and implored me enough, and my angry temper is wiped away,
I enter in and take my seat, and then I do none of the things I say.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Some vow they are needy and friendless men, and over their poverty wail and whine,
And reckon up hardships false and true, till they make them out to be equal to mine.
Some tell a legend of days gone by, or a joke from Æsop witty and sage,
Or jest and banter, to make me laugh, that so I may forget my terrible rage.
And if all this fails, and I stand unmoved, he leads by the hands his little ones near,
He brings his girls and he brings his boys; and I the judge am composed to hear.
They huddle together with piteous bleats: while trembling above them he prays to me,
Prays as to God his accounts to pass, to give him acquittance, and leave him free.

There was no allowance to the citizens in this age for attending the assembly or the theatre; but the state pro-

Fees and food from the state. Gilbert, p. 342 ff.

vided food at the public religious festivals. Disabled persons received a small pension of an obol a day; hence there was no need of poorhouses. Payment for public duties, whether religious or political, tended to equalize the poor and the rich; it tended to the religious, intellectual, and political education of all the citizens and was thus a necessary factor in the growth of Attic civilization. An Athenian citizen was injured no more by being paid for public service than an American citizen now is. The system had its defects, but on the whole it worked well, as under its influence the Athenians became the most enlightened, humane, and moral people of Greece.

Assembly.

The assembly was composed of all citizens above eighteen years of age who had the leisure and inclination to attend. There were four regular meetings in every prytany, or tenth of a year, with as many extraordinary sessions as were thought necessary. One meeting of each prytany was occupied in examining the conduct of magistrates; and any one of them who was thought guilty of mismanagement could be deposed and brought to trial before a popular court. Thus the Athenian magistrates had only so much power and independence as the assembly was willing to grant them. With the confidence of the people the board of generals could do everything; without their support it was helpless. All measures brought before the assembly must indeed have been previously considered by the Council of Five Hundred, but members of the assembly could offer amendments at pleasure. The Athenians had no master; they acknowledged no authority but the laws which they and their fathers had made. There was no higher or more dignified office than that of the citizen who attended the assembly and law courts; he was at once a legislator, a judge, and an executive officer. There was almost no pri-

Holm, ii, p. 197.

Pp. 83, 124.

Citizenship an office of power and dignity.

vate life in the Athens of Pericles. The citizen was called upon as was no other in the ancient world to find his larger interests in those of the state. In the assembly and in the courts the Athenians received an education in law and in statesmanship such as has been granted to but a select few in other states, whether ancient or modern. Thuc. ii, 40.

By far the most important magistrates in this century were the generals. They commanded the army, and were ministers of war, of the navy, of finance, and of foreign affairs. In electing the generals, the people might leave them all equal in power or confer all the authority on one. The generals must be in constant communication with the assembly. For this purpose the gift of speaking was necessary, and that general who was at the same time an orator was naturally leader of the board. Through this office Pericles ruled Athens and her empire with a power which surpassed that of kings and tyrants. He derived his authority not from demagogic arts or even from his superior eloquence, but rather from his acknowledged ability and integrity. "He was able to control the multitude in a free spirit; he led them rather than was led by them; for, not seeking power by dishonest arts, he had no need to say pleasant things, but, on the strength of his own high character, could venture to oppose and even to anger them. When he saw them unseasonably elated and arrogant, his words humbled and awed them; and, when they were de- The generals. Greenidge, p. 182 f. Pericles as general. Plut. *Pericles*. Thuc. ii, 65.

MAGISTRATES

(From the Parthenon Frieze.)

pressed by groundless fears, he sought to reanimate their confidence. Thus Athens, though still in name a democracy, was in fact ruled by her greatest citizen."

Narrowness of the Athenian democracy.

The chief defect in the Periclean system was its narrowness. There were perhaps thirty thousand voters in Attica at this time. The total number of Athenians, including women and children, was about a hundred thousand. Under these in rank were thirty thousand alien residents, and, at the lowest estimate, a hundred thousand slaves. From this it is evident that all men in Attica were by no means free and equal.

Slavery.

Slavery was an essential condition of the Athenian democracy, as it gave the citizen leisure for attending to public affairs; yet it was a monstrous evil. However, it may be said that, so far as our knowledge goes, the slave at Athens was treated better even than the common citizen in oligarchic states.

Alien residents or "metics."

An evil only second in magnitude to slavery was the permanent exclusion of alien residents from the citizenship. Many of their families had resided in Attica for generations; and had they been admitted to all the privileges of citizenship, they would undoubtedly have given the state a vitality and a breadth of base sufficient for its preservation and success in the long war which was soon to come. The narrowness of the Athenian system is seen further in the relation between Athens and her allies, who were now in reality subjects.

Dependent allies.

However loyal an allied state might be, its citizens were given no hope of ever securing the Athenian franchise. Thus the whole body of Athenian citizens had become aristocrats, were now living at the expense of the many over whom they ruled, and were taking pride in their exclusive privileges of birth.

The Athenians a closed caste.

Finally, by refusing to intermarry with any other Greeks, the Athenians made of themselves a closed caste. Pericles brought this about by his law of 451 B.C., which restricted the citi-

zenship to those whose parents were both Athenians. This narrowness was more pernicious to Athens than all the calamities of war which ever befell her.

THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS

In the years of peace between 445 and 431 B.C., Pericles directed his attention to internal improvements. In this period Athens achieved her best in architecture and in sculpture. Pericles wished his city to become a "School of Hellas"; he aimed by adding a broad and symmetrical education to the natural endowments of the Athenians to make of them a race of men whom other Greeks would regard as distinctly superior in mind and in soul. Thus he hoped to establish for his countrymen a natural claim to sovereignty over Hellas. One of the means of effecting this end was a beautiful environment. The Acropolis continued after him, as before, to be the home of the gods who protected the city, especially of Athena. Ceasing now to

Internal improvements, 445–431 B.C.

Thuc. ii, 40 f.

The Acropolis.

be the military stronghold of Attica, it became the artistic centre of Greece. Under the administration of Pericles, the Athenians commissioned the architects Ictinus and Callicrates to build a Parthenon, or temple to Athena (literally maiden's chamber), on the substructure made for the purpose by Cimon. It was completed, sufficiently at least for use, by the year 438 B.C. It included two principal apartments: the smaller, also termed the Parthenon, which served as a treasure-room for the goddess and for the city; and the larger, named the Hecatompedos because it was a hundred feet in length, containing the great statue of the goddess in ivory and gold by Pheidias, the most famous sculptor of all time. Pheidias also superintended the making of the sculptures which adorned the temple.

P. 157.

Abbott, *Pericles*, p. 296 ff.

ATHENA PARTHENOS

In the eastern pediment was a group of statues representing the birth of Athena, full-grown and armed, from the head of Zeus: "The scene is in heaven, the time sunrise, and so, while Selene, the Moon, descends with her chariot at the right corner of the pediment, Helios rises with his team

E. A. Gardner, p. 280.

THE PARTHENON

from the sea at its left corner. Facing the rising horses of the Sun is a noble reclining figure familiarly known as Theseus." Unfortunately, Zeus and Athena, the central statues, have been destroyed. The group in the western pediment represented the victory of Athena over Poseidon for the possession of the city. These are the best sculptures which have come down to us from ancient Greece, though we cannot say that they are absolutely the best which the Greeks ever produced. In them the natural and the ideal meet. "To study the execution of the Parthenon pediments is the liberal education of artists; to imitate it, the despair of sculptors." The Parthenon frieze is a band of relief nearly four feet in width around the temple within the colonnade. The reliefs of the frieze represent the Great Panathenaic festival held in honor of Athena every four years in the month of July. The scene is a unit, yet with endless variety of detail. It shows marvellous skill in execution and a grace and finish which have never been rivalled. Most of the existing Parthenon sculptures were brought to England early in this century and are now in the British Museum. The temple as a whole is in the Doric style, the form of architecture which prevailed in European Greece, while the Ionic belonged rather to Asia Minor. The beauty of the Doric style is severe and chaste; that of the Ionic is characterized by greater freedom and more abundant ornamentation. The spirit of this temple, says Curtius, is intellectual liberty duly balanced and controlled. It is perhaps the most nearly perfect piece of architecture ever created by human hands.

P. 25 f.

E. A. Gardner, p. 282.

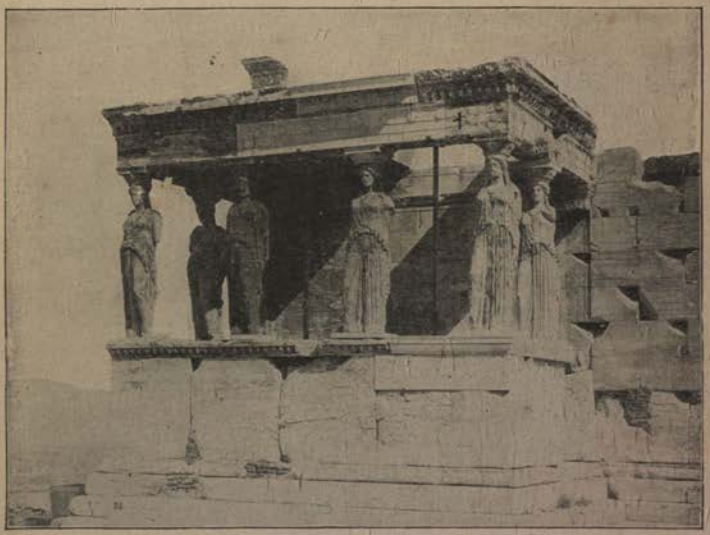
Doric and Ionic styles.

Curtius, ii, p. 72 f.

The protecting deities of the city in contrast with the empire were Athena Polias and Erechtheus, who was in some vague way identified with Poseidon and was at the same time thought of as an ancient king of the city. Of

Erechtheium.

all the gods whom the Athenians worshipped these were the most venerable. It was probably Pericles who began to rebuild the Erechtheium, the temple in which their cult was united; but the work was not completed till after 409 B.C.



ERECHTHEIUM

(Showing the Porch of the Maidens.)

This temple was the centre of the religious life of the Athenians. Here were Poseidon's salt spring and Athena's olive tree; also a wooden image of the goddess, held in especial reverence, and a sacred lamp kept burning night and day. The temple was in Ionic style, and is noted for its beautiful floral ornamentation of the honeysuckle pattern. Modern artists are attracted by the Caryatids, or statues of maidens, substituted for columns in its south porch.

Propylæa, 437–432 B.C.

At the entrance to the Acropolis on the west, the architect Mnesicles built a magnificent portal, called the Propy-

THE TEMPLE OF VICTORY AND THE PROPYLÆA

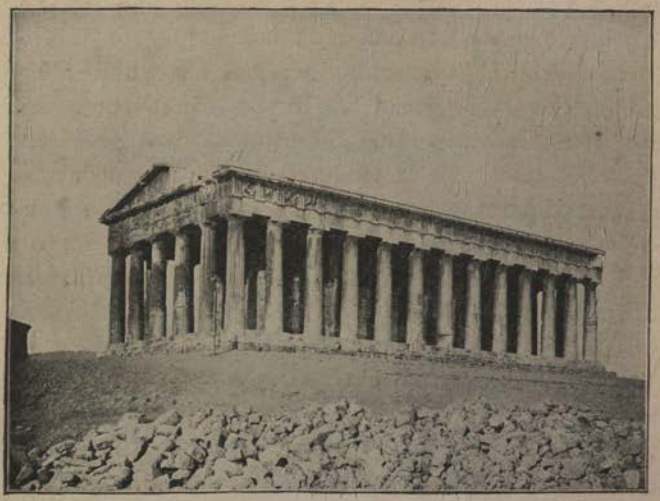
(From the west.)

læa. Near it on the Acropolis was a temple to "Wingless" Victory. From this spot the Athenians could see Ægina and the whole Saronic Gulf, the Isthmus, the citadel of Corinth, and the Argolic peninsula. Let the observer but descry a hostile gathering of ships along this great extent of coast, and the men of Athens would swarm to Peiræus and put to sea in a few hours with a hundred triremes or more. Holm, ii, p. 268.

One of the most conspicuous works of art on the Acropolis was a colossal bronze statue of Athena, the so-called "Promachus" (Champion Goddess) by Pheidias, perhaps fifty feet high including the pedestal. It may have stood between the Propylæa and the Parthenon. The goddess held in her hands an erect spear and a shield outstretched. The statue was made from the spoils of Marathon and expressed the calm dignity and courage of the heroes who won the victory there. Athena Promachus. Pausanias, i, 28.

Northwest of the Acropolis on a rocky terrace is the so-called Theseium, a great temple in Doric style, at present the best-preserved piece of ancient Greek architecture. It is unknown whether this is really a temple to Theseus or to one of the great gods, perhaps Hephæstus, or whether Cimon or Pericles had it built. Cimon had conquered the island of Scyrus, had brought thence the reputed bones of Theseus, and had built for them a shrine, though possibly not this great temple. The Athenians regarded Theseus as the founder of their state, a great and good king who protected the oppressed. Hence his shrine became a place of refuge for slaves who suffered from ill-treatment at the hands of their masters. South of the Acropolis Pericles built the Odeium. It was semicircular in form with a pointed, tent-like roof whose rafters were masts of Persian vessels taken at Salamis. The Odeium was a memorial hall "Theseium." Plut. *Cimon.* P. 26. Odeium.

commemorating the victory of Salamis. In it were held the musical contests of the Great Panathenæa.



"THESEIUM"
(From the Northeast.)

P. 141 f. Eleusinian mysteries. P. 97 f.

It will be noticed that all these works of art were connected with the worship of the gods. As Pericles wished to make the Athenian religion, and especially the Eleusinian mysteries, pan-Hellenic, the Council of Five Hundred and the assembly, with the approval of the Delphian Apollo, decreed that all the Athenians and their allies should bring the first fruits of their corn as an offering to the temple of Demeter and Persephone at Eleusis. At the same time they made an earnest appeal to all Hellas to do likewise. It is doubtful whether any state outside of the Athenian Empire responded favorably to this invitation, although individuals may have done so. The various attempts of Pericles to unite all Greece under Athens failed because the Greek cities preferred absolute independence and had no

sympathy with Athenian imperialism. It was not till Athens lost her political ambition that she became the intellectual and moral head of Greece; and this did not happen till the next century. P. 172. P. 284.

Literature. The life of the Periclean age expressed itself in literature as well as in sculpture and architecture. It was at this time that Herodotus, the "father of history," lived. An exile from his native city of Halicarnassus in Asia Minor, he spent his life in travel, in residence at Athens, in the social circle of Pericles, or at Thurii, in Italy. He visited nearly all of the known world and everywhere collected from the natives interesting stories of persons and events. These he wove into a history of the war between Greece and Persia. In tracing the causes of the conflict by way of introduction, he gives the history of the world from mythical times down to the war itself. He wrote his work to be read aloud, as the poems of Homer had been, at public gatherings. This helps us to understand why his style is so simple and so interesting. He repeats the stories as they were told him, because his *hearers* could not appreciate historical criticism. Many of his tales are myths or fictitious anecdotes; but they are all valuable, as they illustrate the character of nations and of individuals. Herodotus was one of the fairest and most large-minded of historians. Though uncritical, though he takes little interest in politics, or in the deeper causes of events, yet his picture of the world of his time and of the mind and nature of mankind in the many countries which he visited makes his work perhaps the truest, as it certainly is the most interesting, of all histories.

Herodotus. Murray, ch. vi. Jebb, p. 104 ff.

The drama. Development. The drama reached in this age the highest point of development. It had been originally a chorus of persons dressed like satyrs, who sang and danced in a circle in honor of the god Dionysus. Thespis of Athens was the first to have the

Murray, chs. ix, xi.

leader of the chorus recite stories to the audience at intervals while the dancers were resting. Later poets introduced an actor who talked with the chorus leader, and in this way the song was supplemented by a dialogue. Æschylus, it is said, increased the number of actors to two, and Sophocles, his successor, added a third. Thus the Greek drama developed from the chorus, which, though declining with the growth of the dialogue, still remained important. The function of the chorus was "to breathe forth the fire and shed the tears of the play."

Gildersleeve.

Sophocles.

Sophocles was the great dramatic writer of the Periclean age. Though he had neither the gigantic strength nor the bold originality of Æschylus, he was a more careful artist. His plot was far more intricate, his language more finished and subtle, and his religious beliefs, in contrast with those of Æschylus, were serene. His best extant play, the *Œdipus Tyrannus*, tells how Œdipus, King of Thebes, though a just and pious man, brought utter ruin upon himself and his household by unintentional sin. Sophocles had few new ideas, but the absolute beauty and symmetry of his dramas — the perfect balance of form and substance — mark him as the ideal Greek. The drama, which is the highest form of Greek literary art, "the fairest flower that bloomed on the rock of Athena," he represents at its best.

P. 159 ff.

Philosophy.

Zeno.

Cf. p. 95 f.

Among the philosophers who were friends of Pericles was Zeno, the Eleatic. He was the discoverer of "dialectic," the art of searching for truth and detecting error by systematic discussion, —

Plut. *Pericles.*

> The two-edged tongue of mighty Zeno, who
> Say what one would, could argue it untrue.

Dialectic, which was especially adapted to the Greek genius for conversation, was to become the chief philosophical

method of the future. But the man who is said to have had the greatest influence on Pericles was Anaxagoras of Clazomenæ in Ionia. He was the first Greek to declare that the world was ruled by Intelligence. This was the power, he taught, which ordained beforehand how all things in the universe should be arranged. These wise friends of Pericles found in him perhaps as liberal a patron of art and learning as has ever lived. His estimate of Athenian education and character is well worth considering. "Our city," Thucydides represents him as saying, "is equally admirable in peace and in war. For we are lovers of the beautiful, yet simple in our tastes, and we cultivate the mind without loss of manliness. Wealth we employ, not for talk and ostentation, but when there is a real use for it. And we have not forgotten to provide our weary spirits many relaxations from toil; we have regular games and sacrifices throughout the year; at home the style of our life is refined; and the delight which we daily feel in all these things helps to banish melancholy. Because of the greatness of our city the fruits of the whole earth flow in upon us; so that we enjoy the goods of other countries as freely as of our own.

Anaxagoras.

Marshall, chs. v, vi.

Estimate of Athenian character.

*Funeral Oration of Pericles*, Thuc. ii, 38–46.

"We alone do good to our neighbors, not upon a calculation of interest, but in the confidence of freedom and in a frank and fearless spirit. To sum up: I say that Athens is the school of Hellas, and that the individual Athenian in his own person seems to have the power of adapting himself to the most varied forms of action with the utmost versatility and grace. . . . And we shall assuredly not be without witnesses; there are mighty monuments which will make us the wonder of this and of succeeding ages."

But the era of peace was rapidly drawing to an end. Troubles first arose within the state. The moderate policy

Pericles' troubles.

of Pericles pleased neither the oligarchs nor the extreme democrats. His enemies not daring, under fear of ostracism, to attack him directly, assailed his friends one after another. First they prosecuted Pheidias for embezzling some of the gold entrusted to him to be used in gilding the statue of Athena for the Parthenon. Although he was ready to prove his innocence by having the metal taken off and weighed, they threw him into prison, where he died of sickness. Then to punish Anaxagoras for his attachment to Pericles, they drove him from Athens by threatening to prosecute him for impiety. About the same time Aspasia was indicted for impiety and immorality. She was a Milesian by birth, a woman of remarkable intellectual endowments. Pericles had divorced his wife, the mother of his two sons, and had taken Aspasia to his house, though his own law of 451 B.C. forbade him to marry an alien. She became the teacher of artists, philosophers, and orators — the inspiring genius of the Periclean social circle. But the Athenians, who in this age had come to believe that a woman must be restricted to the house and must talk with no one outside of her own family, regarded Aspasia's conduct as immoral. They complained especially because their own wives went to the house of Pericles and learned the ideas and manners of this foreign woman. Happily Pericles by personal entreaty induced the judges to acquit her. While he was thus beset by private difficulties, war with Peloponnese began to threaten.

Plut. *Pericles.*

Prosecution of his friends.

Aspasia.

### Sources

Reading.

To the student of history Sophocles, as he rarely mentions events, is less valuable than Æschylus. Herodotus, who lived at this time, wrote only of the past. Our chief source is Thuc. i, ii; then Plut. *Cimon* and *Pericles;* Diodorus, xi, xii. The buildings, sculpture, and inscriptions still preserved bring us into immediate contact with the age.

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(2) Eastern Greece: **Holm**, II, chs. xiii–xx; Oman, *History of Greece*, chs. xxiii–xxv; Abbott, *History of Greece*, II, chs. ix–xi; *Pericles and the Golden Age of Athens;* **Curtius**, II, bk. iii, ch. iii; Timayenis, *History of Greece*, I, pt. iv, chs. vi–viii; Grote, V, chs. xlv, xlvi; VI, ch. xlvii; Allcroft, *The Making of Athens*, chs. ix–xiii, xv; Cox, *Athenian Empire*, ch. ii; *Greek Statesmen*, II; *Ephialtes*, *Kimon*, and *Perikles*; Grant, *Greece in the Age of Pericles;* Lloyd, *Age of Pericles*, 2 vols.; Gilbert, *Constitutional Antiquities of Sparta and Athens*, p. 416 ff.; Greenidge, *Handbook of Greek Constitutional History*, ch. vi; Botsford, *Development of the Athenian Constitution*, ch. xii; Cunningham, *Western Civilization in its Economic Aspects*, bk. ii, ch. ii; Mahaffy, *Survey of Greek Civilization*, ch. v; *Social Life in Greece*, chs. vi–viii; Murray, *Ancient Greek Literature*, chs. vi, viii, xi; Jebb, *Greek Literature*, pt. ii; Marshall, *History of Greek Philosophy*, ch. vi; Tarbell, *History of Greek Art*, ch. viii; E. A. Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, ch. iii.

LAPITH AND CENTAUR

(Parthenon Metope.)

VICTORY

(By Pæonius, about 420 B.C. Olympia.)

# CHAPTER X

## THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR TO THE END OF THE SICILIAN EXPEDITION (431–413 B.C.)

Causes of the war.

P. 169.

BEFORE the year 431 B.C., a great majority of the communities of Greece had been brought under the leadership of Athens or of Sparta. The peace of 445 B.C. was to last for thirty years; but scarcely half of that period had elapsed when war broke out between the two powers. The causes of the war were various. First, there were certain contrasts

of character which prevented the Peloponnesians and the Athenians from sympathizing with each other. There was a natural race enmity; the nucleus of the Peloponnesian League was Dorian, that of the Athenian Empire was Ionic. Then, too, the Peloponnesians were mainly agricultural; only Corinth, Sicyon, and one or two of their other communities were extensively engaged in trade, while most of the cities of the Athenian Empire were commercial and industrial. Thus in their mode of life the two powers were utterly unlike. There was as great a contrast in government: most of the Peloponnesian communities were oligarchic; those of the Empire were mainly democratic. This was an especial cause of trouble, since the oligarchs in the democratic states of the Empire were continually plotting to set up oligarchies in their own communities, relying upon help from Lacedæmon. But the greatest contrast of all was to be found in the organization of the two powers: the Peloponnesian system was a loose confederacy of independent states; the Athenian, an empire composed mainly of tributary cities. Grecian feeling favored the Peloponnesian system and regarded Athenian imperialism as tyranny. It was therefore as champion of Hellenic freedom that Lacedæmon engaged in the war.

Contrasts of character.

P. 79.

Thuc. i, 68, 122; ii, 8.

The interests of the two powers also conflicted. For more than a century Sparta had been acknowledged as the chief city of Hellas. She had liberated many Greek communities from tyrants and now professed to have freed Hellas from the Persian yoke. With all this in her favor, Sparta still claimed the right to leadership in Greece. But immediately after the war with Persia, Athens appeared as a rival for the leadership. The alliance between the two powers was broken in 462 B.C., and in the interval between that date and 445 B.C. they actually came to blows. The

Conflicting interests.

Thuc. i, 122.

Athenians also professed to have saved Greece in the war with Persia; they asserted that they were the most powerful of the Greeks, and the most worthy to rule, inasmuch as they always treated their subject states with the greatest fairness and justice. In reply to these claims, the Peloponnesians declared that Athens was a tyrant, and that it was their duty to put down tyranny in whatever form they found it.

Athens and Corinth.

Athens had trouble also with particular states of the League. The usual relations between Athens and Corinth had been extremely friendly; but since the war with Persia, Peiræus was monopolizing the commerce of the seas, and Corinth found herself painfully cramped in her trade.

Thuc. i, 120.

There was danger, Corinth alleged, that the Athenians might cut Peloponnese off from all communication with the rest of the world. Furthermore, Athens was interfering between

Corinth and Corcyra.

Corinth and her colony, Corcyra. The latter community, though not a member of the Peloponnesian League, was in

Thuc. i, 24 ff.

some measure dependent on Corinth. The mother and daughter cities quarrelled over the possession of a joint colony, Epidamnus, on the mainland. Corinth, after ex-

435 B.C.

periencing a severe defeat at the hands of the Corcyræans in battle, procured the aid of several Peloponnesian allies in preparing a great armament with which to overwhelm the undutiful colony. Hereupon Corcyra sent envoys to Athens to ask an alliance. Corinthian ambassadors also came, and the two parties pleaded their respective causes

Athenian alliance with Corcyra.

before the Athenian assembly. It was probably with the advice of Pericles that the Athenians resolved to make a *defensive* alliance with Corcyra. Pericles believed a war with Lacedæmon inevitable, — "he saw a cloud of war lowering from Peloponnese;" he felt that the Corcyræan navy must be secured for Athens by all means, and counted

on the great advantage which the new ally would bring his city in her trade with Italy and Sicily. In accordance with the decree, a small Athenian fleet sent from Athens aided the Corcyræans in defending their island from the great Corinthian armament. Whether or not Athens technically broke the treaty is a matter of indifference. The Corinthians were justly angry for this interference between themselves and their colonists, especially as they had several times prevented the Peloponnesians from interfering in Athenian affairs. Corinth asserted that Athens broke the treaty, and now exerted all her energy to stir up the Peloponnesians to war against the offender. It is probable that, had Athens and Corinth remained friendly, the Peloponnesian war would have been deferred for a long time or wholly averted. Apparently, then, Pericles was responsible for the war.

Battle off Sybota, 432 B.C.

Pp. 84, 171.

Immediately after the trouble with Corcyra, Corinth began to urge Potidæa to revolt. This was a Corinthian colony in Chalcidice, now tributary to Athens. Corinth garrisoned the place; it revolted, and so did the other Chalcidians. Most of these dismantled their own cities and gathered at Olynthus, in order that they might more effectually defend themselves. As the Potidæans resolved to hold out in their own city, the Athenians laid siege to it. The Corinthians alleged, without just ground, that this was another violation of the treaty of 445 B.C. They persuaded the Lacedæmonians to call a congress of the League to consider the various grievances against Athens. The Lacedæmonians invited the deputies to bring their complaints before the Spartan assembly. Among those who had grievances were the Megarians. Athens owed them a grudge for massacring her garrison in 446 B.C., and had recently paid it by passing an act which excluded them

Athens and Potidæa.

P. 36.

Thuc. i, 56 ff.

Peloponnesian congress.

P. 168.

from the ports and markets of Attica and of the empire. This, also, the Megarians averred, was a violation of the treaty of 445 B.C. King Archidamus advised caution: it would be wise to obtain a redress of grievances by negotiation; at any rate, time might thus be gained for preparation. In its present condition the Peloponnesian League, he maintained, was no match for the Athenian Empire. But the ephor Sthenilaïdas overrode the judgment of the king, and persuaded the assembly to vote that the Athenians had violated the treaty. The real ground for this decision, says Thucydides, was not the complaints of the allies, but alarm caused by the remarkable growth of the Athenian power. The Peloponnesian congress ratified the decision of the Spartan assembly, and voted for war against Athens. To gain time for preparation, the Lacedæmonians sent embassies to Athens, one after another, with various demands: that the Athenians should rescind the Megarian decree; that they should expel Pericles, because his family was under a curse; that they should grant independence to the communities of their empire. To all these demands Athens turned a deaf ear. Pericles had long been preparing for war, and he had reasons for believing that Athens would be successful.

Declaration of war, 432 B.C.

Thuc. i, 88, 118 ff.

P. 46.

Her empire was now about as large as ever, and far more strongly consolidated. Among her independent allies were Chios and Lesbos, Thessaly, Platæa, Corcyra, Naupactus, Acarnania, the Amphilochians, and Zacynthus; in Italy, Neapolis and Rhegium; in Sicily, Leontini and Segesta. Athens had thirteen thousand heavy-armed troops and a larger force for garrison service; she had three hundred triremes of her own besides those of the allies, and her sailors were the best in the world. The Athenians commanded the sea and its resources. The tributes from

Athenian resources.

Thuc. i, 19; ii, 9, 13, 62.

GREECE
AT THE BEGINNING OF THE
PELOPONNESIAN WAR
Athens and her Allies
Sparta and her Allies
THRACE
MACEDON
EPEIRUS
THESSALY
ATTICA
BOEOTIA
PHOCIS
LOCRIS
AETOLIA
ACHAEA
ELIS
ARCADIA
ARGOLIS
LACEDAEMON
THRACIAN SEA
AEGEAN SEA
IONIAN SEA
PROPONTIS
BITHYNIA
PHRYGIA
MYSIA
LYDIA
CARIA
Strymon R.
Byzantium
Epidamnus
Amphipolis
Thasos
Hellespont
Lampsacus
Cyzicus
Olynthus
Potidaea
Torone
Simbros
Abydos
Troad
Mt. Olympus
Mt. Ida
Lemnos
Thessalian Gulf
Pagasaean Gulf
Corcyra
Lesbos
Mytilene
Mt. Pindus
Ambracian Gulf
Anactorium
Leucas
Phocaea
Hermus R.
Sardis
Smyrna
Chios
Clazomenae
Caystrus R.
Cephallenia
Naupactus
Delphi
Thebes
Oropus
Colophon
Ephesus
Corinthian Gulf
Pellene
Sicyon
Megara
Athens
Piraeus
Zacynthus
Corinth
Salamis
Andros
Samos
Icaria
Maeander R.
Elis
Olympia
Arcadia
Argos
Aegina
Leos
Tenos
Miletus
Argolic Gulf
Saronic Gulf
Delos
Mantinea
Naxos
Halicarnassus
Pylos
Sparta
Messenian Gulf
Laconian Gulf
Melos
Cos
Cnidus
Cynossema Pr.
Thera
Rhodes
13
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26

their subject cities, together with other revenues, amounting in all to about a thousand talents a year, would be nearly enough, in case of siege, to support the whole Attic population on imported food. The plan of Pericles was to venture no battle with the Peloponnesians, but to bring the entire population within the walls, to allow the devastation of Attica, and to damage Peloponnese as much as he could with his fleet. In this way he hoped to wear out the enemy and to win a more favorable peace perhaps than that of 445 B.C.

Peloponnesian resources.

All the Peloponnesian states, except Argos and a part of Achæa, were in alliance with Lacedæmon; and outside of Peloponnese, the Megarians, Bœotians, Phocians, Locrians, Ambraciots, and some others; in Sicily and in Italy most of the Dorian cities sympathized with Sparta. The few commercial states of the League provided ships; the others, land forces only. The League could muster an army of twenty-five thousand heavy-armed men. No power in the world was a match for it in a pitched battle, but it could not be held together long, as each soldier had to carry his provisions with him from his farm. The Peloponnesians relied mainly on the devastation of Attica for bringing their enemy to terms. They supposed that one or two summer campaigns, of a few weeks each, would effect the desired object.

Thuc. i, 141–142; ii, 9.

First event of the war.

The war opened in the spring of 431 B.C. A band of Thebans was admitted by treachery to Platæa with a view to bringing this community back into the Bœotian League. But the Platæans overpowered the intruders and took captive one hundred and eighty of them. After promising on oath to spare the lives of these prisoners,— at least, as the Thebans themselves afterwards declared,— the Platæans put them to death. This incident is characteristic of the war.

P. 24.

Thuc. ii, 2-6.

From the beginning the opposing parties were inhumane and vindictive in their treatment of prisoners. The Peloponnesians killed all whom they captured at sea, including traders and neutrals. On the other side, certain ambassadors from Peloponnese were taken on their way to the Persian king, delivered to the Athenians, and put to death without trial. Generally, captives were killed unless spared for some especial diplomatic reason. This war checked the growing humanity of the Greeks.

Invasion of Attica.

In the first year of the war, King Archidamus, at the head of a Peloponnesian army, devastated Attica, and the Athenians ravaged the coasts of Peloponnese. These operations were repeated nearly every year through the early part of the war. The removal of the country people to Athens was very painful. They were distressed at exchanging the homes and shrines which they loved for the crowded city, where most of them could find no comfortable shelter, but must live —

Thuc. ii, 12–17.

Aristoph. *Knights*, 792 ff.

> In a barrack, an outhouse, a hovel, a shed,
> In nests of the rock where the vultures are bred,
> In tubs, and in huts, and in towers of the wall.

No wonder that they were angry with Pericles, when they saw their homes and orchards ruined by the Peloponnesians. However, that he deemed his policy on the whole successful appears from the *Funeral Oration* which he delivered in the autumn over those who had fallen in the campaigns of the year. In this oration, Pericles set forth the high principles on which the Athenian political and social system rested. Thucydides gives us the substance of the speech, though not the exact words.

Cf. p. 187.

Plague at Athens, 430 B.C.

The next year Athens and Peiræus were visited by a plague, which inflicted more terrible damage than the severest defeat in battle would have done. The people

suffered because they were crowded together and lacked the comforts of life. The medical science of the time was powerless to cope with the evil. Although this dreadful calamity called forth heroism, — many risked their lives to attend their friends, — its total effect was thoroughly demoralizing. The Athenians blamed Pericles for both war and plague, and gave vent to their grief and anger by fining him heavily. But soon they repented and again elected him general with absolute power. The story of the war during this year is of little interest.

Thuc. ii, 47–57.

In the following year Pericles died from the effects of the plague, and the leadership of the state passed into the hands of Cleon, a tanner. Though no general, he had a remarkable talent for finance and was an orator of great force. In the main he followed the policy of Pericles. As the surplus in the treasury was soon exhausted by the war, the state levied a direct tax, and Cleon made himself very unpopular with the wealthy by his ruthlessness in collecting it. Aristophanes, the comic poet, represents him as addressing Demus (*i.e.* the citizen body) as follows: —

Death of Pericles. 429 B.C. Holm, ii, ch. xxiii. 428 B.C.

> O Demus! has any man shown such a zeal,
> Such a passion as I for the general weal?
> Racking and screwing offenders to ruin;
> With torture and threats extorting your debts;
> Exhausting all means for enhancing your fortune.

Aristoph. *Knights*, 773 ff.

He was equally vigorous in prosecuting officials for appropriating public funds; so that no man of the time was so thoroughly disliked by the "better class."

*Cleon* (to an opponent). —

> I'll indict ye, I'll impeach,
> I'll denounce ye in a speech;
> With four several accusations,
> For your former peculations
> Of a hundred talents each.

Aristoph. *Knights*, 442.

The more energetic he was in providing ways and means for the war, the more the nobles hated him. They could not endure to see this upstart from the industrial class at the head of the government, compelling them to pay in taxes the expenses of a war they did not favor.

429 B.C. There were for several years no important engagements on land, but the Athenian admiral, Phormion, gained control of the Corinthian Gulf by two brilliant naval victories.

Revolt of Lesbos. In 428 B.C. the oligarchs of Lesbos induced Mytilene and all the other cities of the island, except Methymna, to revolt. This was ominous for Athens. There was danger that all the maritime cities would follow the example of Lesbos. But the Peloponnesians were too slow in sending the promised aid, and the Athenians made desperate efforts to conquer the island. Finally, as a last resort, the oligarchs of Mytilene armed the commons for the defence of the city, and these promptly surrendered to Paches, the Athenian commander. Thereupon he sent the oligarchs, who alone were guilty of revolt, to Athens, and kept guard over the other Mytilenæans, awaiting the judgment of the assembly. The Athenians were angry because the Lesbians had revolted without cause; they feared, too, for the safety of their empire and, indeed, for their own lives. Under the excitement of the moment, they decreed to kill all the men of Mytilene and to enslave the women and children. A trireme was despatched to Lesbos with the message of death.

Thuc. iii, 2-14, 25-50.

427 B.C.

Cleon and Diodotus. Cleon was the author of this policy of terrorism toward the cities of the empire; he wished to make an example of the Lesbians so that the other communities would fear to revolt. But on the next day the decree was reconsidered in the assembly. A certain Diodotus, in opposing Cleon's policy, declared that it was unwise to destroy the innocent commons along with the guilty oligarchs:

"If you punish all without distinction, you will drive the commons to take part with the nobles, and thus you will have no friends whatever among the allies — you will meet everywhere with united resistance and hatred." The opinion of Diodotus prevailed, and a second trireme reached Lesbos in time to countermand the bloody decree of the day before. But the thousand Lesbian oligarchs at Athens were put to death. The Athenians were severe enough in their punishment for rebellion without going the whole length of Cleon's desires. In putting down the Lesbian revolt, Athens passed the dangerous crisis and was again undisputed mistress of the Ægean.

Surrender of Platæa.

Somewhat later in the summer, Platæa, after a two years' blockade, surrendered to the Lacedæmonians. The Athenians in all that time did not stir in behalf of their loyal allies, although it was possible to rescue them by a vigorous attack on the blockading line. Two hundred Platæans with a few Athenians fell into the hands of the enemy, and were put to death on the ground that they had done no service to the Peloponnesian League in the present war. In reality they were sacrificed to the enmity of Thebes, whose citizens now came into possession of their territory. There was no essential difference between the Athenians and the Lacedæmonians in the treatment of prisoners and of conquered populations.

427 B.C.

Thuc. ii, 71–78; iii, 52–68.

Sedition in Corcyra.

In this year Athens came near losing Corcyra. The oligarchs of that place, by massacring the council, overawed the commons and made their state neutral in the war. But they did not long retain the upper hand. Between nobles and commons a war broke out, in which even the women took part. The sedition lasted several days. Many were killed from motives of personal enmity or of greed. "Every form of death was to be seen. The father slew his

Thuc. iii, 80-81.

son, and suppliants were torn from the temples and slain." But with the help of the Athenians the commons finally triumphed. Corcyra now became of especial value to Athens, as she began at this time to send aid to her Sicilian allies against their enemies.

Character of the conflict between oligarchy and democracy.

The war was becoming more and more a conflict between oligarchy and democracy; and in this character it threw all Hellas into commotion. In time of peace the two parties generally lived in harmony, but the war brought to the Hellenic cities two conditions which favored sedition: first, the possibility of obtaining help from outside, as the Peloponnesians and the Athenians were ready to come to the assistance of their respective parties; and, second, the restlessness and daring occasioned by the hard times. These seditions brought into play the worst elements of Greek character. Reckless daring was held to be loyal courage; prudent delay, the excuse of a coward. Moderation was now regarded as the disguise of unmanly weakness, while frantic energy came to be esteemed as the quality of true manhood. Good faith vanished and oaths ceased to bind. Party morals were at a low ebb. The leaders, while professing noble aims, were grasping for wealth, power, and revenge. Both factions committed the most monstrous crimes, either by open violence or by judicial murder. Both factions, careless of religion, applauded success even if it was achieved by the most perfidious means.

Thuc. iii, 82-83.

Demosthenes in the West.

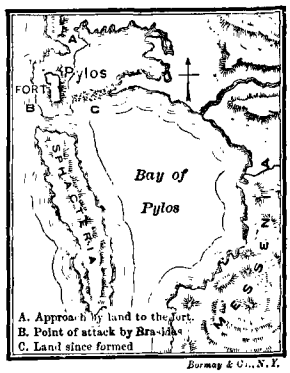
In 426 B.C. the war began to turn decidedly in favor of Athens. Demosthenes, a general of this year, was the ablest Athenian commander since the days of Themistocles and Cimon. Though he failed in an attempt to conquer Ætolia, he defeated with great slaughter the Ambraciots, who were helped by the Lacedæmonians, and thus gave Athens a brilliant reputation and the military superiority

in the western part of central Greece. The next year he seized Pylos, on the west coast of Peloponnese, and fortified it. This became a thorn in the side of Sparta, — a refuge for helots and a good basis for ravaging Laconia. It was a promontory with an excellent harbor protected by the island of Sphacteria. Demosthenes held the place against repeated attacks of the Peloponnesians. They had made their usual invasion of Attica, but quickly departed on hearing of the seizure of Pylos. Athens did not understand the cause of this sudden withdrawal, and was still more surprised by the arrival of an embassy from Sparta soon afterward, begging for peace. The Lacedæmonians had landed a select body of troops on Sphacteria, and had tried to carry Demosthenes' position by storm. The attempt had failed; the besiegers found themselves blockaded by an Athenian fleet; and now, to save the troops on the island, they made a truce with Demosthenes with a view to negotiating for peace.

Seizure of Pylos.

425 B.C.

Thuc. iv, 2–41.




The envoys from Sparta requested the Athenian assembly to appoint a committee to consider with them terms of peace. Cleon opposed secret negotiation, for, he said, it was simply a plan to gain time. Let the envoys say openly what they are willing to do. His own wishes were clear; the Lacedæmonians should restore Nisæa, Pegæ, Trœzen, and Achæa, and on this condition Athens would make peace for any length of time. Thus Cleon wanted to regain for Athens what she had lost by the treaty of 445 B.C. But the negotiations came to naught. Cleon can hardly be

Negotiations for peace.

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blamed for the stand which he took, especially in view of the fact that Sparta had no power to bind her allies; a general peace could be made only with the consent of the Peloponnesian council. It is not improbable that the Lacedæmonians merely wished to gain time. Winter would compel the Athenians to raise the blockade.

Cleon and Nicias.

Cleon's chief opponent at Athens was Nicias, leader of the conservatives, who constituted the peace party. Nicias was a good officer, but too slow and stupid to lead an army or a political party. His chief recommendations were his respectable birth, his great wealth, his honesty, and his

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religion. He always kept a soothsayer about him, and followed the omens conscientiously without regard to the dictates of common sense. Instead of conducting reënforcements to Demosthenes, which was his duty as general, he surrendered his office to Cleon in the hope that the latter might meet with defeat at Pylos, and thus come to the end of his political career. But Cleon, on arriving at Pylos with reënforcements, wisely placed himself under the command of Demosthenes. The latter captured the troops of Sphacteria and brought them home, two hundred and ninety-two in number — as valuable a cargo as ever entered Peiræus. Though this success was due to Demosthenes, Cleon reaped the fruit of the victory. He was given the highest honors of the state, and his opinion prevailed on all questions in the assembly. The victory strengthened the hold of Athens on the empire, and enabled her to raise

Capture of Sphacteria. 425 B.C.

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the tribute to a thousand talents, nearly double the former amount. This measure increased the Athenian resources for war.

Athens begins to lose. 424 B.C.

The next year Nicias captured the island of Cythera. From it the Athenians cut off the commerce of the Lacedæmonians and ravaged the Laconian coast wherever they

pleased. They also took Nisæa and came near capturing Megara. But this was the culmination of their success; from this time they began to lose ground. The Sicilian cities, terrified by the news of such victories, made among themselves a peace which excluded Athens altogether from military interference in the island. More serious far than this, a certain Spartan officer named Brasidas discovered the one vulnerable point in the Athenian empire — Chalcidice. This was the only part of the Athenian dominion outside of Attica which could be reached by land. Brasidas asked the Lacedæmonians for a force to lead in that direction. They gave him a few hundred allies and manumitted helots. They wished to be rid of the helots and could easily spare Brasidas, who, though young, was fond of giving them military advice. But he proved to be an exceptionally able commander and diplomatist. Though arriving late in the autumn, he won over Perdiccas, king of Macedon, to the Peloponnesian alliance, and induced several cities of the empire to revolt, — among them Amphipolis, the most important city in that region. His success was due in part to the negligence of Thucydides, the historian, — who as general commanded a small fleet in that quarter of the Ægean, — and in part to his diplomatic skill and to the fairness of his terms. The cities which revolted became independent members of the Peloponnesian League.

Brasidas.

Thuc. iv, 70–88.

In this year the Athenians formed a plan in conjunction with the democrats of the Bœotian towns to gain possession of all Bœotia. The plan failed, however, through mismanagement, and the Athenians suffered a severe defeat at Delium. Although the opposing armies were equal in numbers, the Bœotians won by massing their men in a heavy phalanx twenty-five deep against one part of the

Battle at Delium. 424 B.C.

Thuc. iv, 89–101.

Athenian line, which was uniformly eight men deep. Thus the Thebans had already made a beginning of that peculiar tactic organization which in the next century was to destroy the military power of Sparta.

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ATHENIAN KNIGHTS
(From the Parthenon Frieze.)

Truce for a year.

During the next year a truce between Athens and Sparta was made through the influence of Nicias. It was everywhere observed except by Brasidas in Chalcidice. His repeated violations of it caused a renewal of the war in 422 B.C. In this year Cleon, who had been elected general, tried to regain Amphipolis, but was defeated and slain. Brasidas was killed in the same battle. The death of these two men removed the chief obstacles in the way of peace.

423 B.C.

Battle at Amphipolis.

Peace of Nicias. 421 B.C.

Both Athenians and Lacedæmonians desired peace. The conservatives at Athens, who from the beginning had opposed the war, were brought into office by the defeat at Delium and Cleon's recent failure before Amphipolis. Nicias, now the most eminent man at Athens, was their leader. The Lacedæmonians, for their part, were bitterly disappointed by the results of the war. They had hoped to crush the power of Athens in a few years at the most, but had suffered at Pylos the greatest reverse in their history; they had lost Cythera, and now saw their lands continually ravaged, their helots deserting, and their League threatening to dissolve. The thirty years' truce with Argos was about to expire, and there could be no doubt that this state would soon be counted among the allies of Athens. Lace-

Thuc. v, 14–20.

dæmon was anxious also to recover the prisoners taken at Sphacteria, since many of them were no ordinary troops, but pure Spartans. Nicias carried on the negotiations as representative of his city, and the peace accordingly bears his name. It was concluded in the spring of 421 B.C. The essence of the treaty was the restoration of the relations which had existed before the war. This seemed at the time to be just, as the strong positions which Athens held in the enemy's country were offset by her recent defeats — at Delium and Amphipolis. Subsequent events, however, proved that Athens lost greatly by the peace.

Failure of the peace.

It was to last fifty years and was to extend to the allies on both sides. But those of Lacedæmon, who had not been consulted in the matter, now refused their assent. The Corinthians, Megarians, and Bœotians desired some concessions from Athens in return for the ten years' war. The Lacedæmonians, however, did their best to carry the treaty into effect. They ordered that the Chalcidic cities be delivered up to the Athenians; but Clearidas, their commander in that region, would not obey, alleging as an excuse his inability to coerce these cities. In reality, he had aided them in their revolt, and had no desire to undo his own work. The Athenians then refused to perform their part of the agreement. The Lacedæmonians saw that they could enforce the peace only in the closest union with Athens; accordingly they offered her a defensive alliance. They were to help Athens in regaining the places lost in the war, and Athens was to help them against the helots. Nicias and his party welcomed this offer; it seemed to them that the dream of Cimon was to be realized, and that at last Athens and Sparta were uniting to control the destinies of Greece. The Lacedæmonians now recovered the captives taken at Sphacteria; but as they failed to restore

Thuc. v, 21 ff.

P. 154 f.

the Chalcidic towns, Athens refused to withdraw her garrisons from Pylos and Cythera. Though the agreement was imperfectly carried out, the two cities did not directly attack each other for seven years, and the Athenians enjoyed the peace while it lasted. They returned to the country and began again the cultivation of their little farms, pleased to be at length free from their long confinement behind the walls.

Aristoph. *Acharnians*, 247 ff. (first acted in 425 B.C.)

> O blessed Bacchus, what a joy it is
> To go thus unmolested, undisturbed,
> My wife, my children, and my family,
> With our accustomed joyful ceremony,
> To celebrate thy festival in my farm.

Aristophanes represents a conservative old Athenian farmer as saying this with reference to the rural festival in honor of Dionysus, or Bacchus, which he was about to celebrate on the return of peace.

New alliances.

Thuc. v, 27 ff.

The Peloponnesian League was falling to pieces. Several states in it which disliked the Lacedæmonians feared that the union between Sparta and Athens would bring slavery to themselves. Elis and Mantineia, which were democratic, made alliance with Argos; while Megara and Bœotia, because of their oligarchic governments, were inclined to remain friendly with Lacedæmon. Now Lacedæmon, by concluding a separate alliance with Bœotia, had broken her agreement with Athens. When it became known in Athens that the treaty with Sparta was a mere farce, the war party again came into power. One of its leaders was Hyperbolus, a manufacturer of lamps, Cleon's successor. Unfortunately we know him only through his political enemies, who have undoubtedly distorted his character. As he belonged to the industrial class and had no notable ancestry, he was despised by the gentility and ridiculed by the conservative comic poets. Though Hyperbolus made himself

Hyperbolus.

Holm, ii, p. 401.

hated by his prosecution of officials charged with embezzlement and by his advocacy of war with Sparta, there is no reason for doubting that he was a man of integrity and of fair ability.

Alcibiades.

Thuc. v, 43 ff.; Plutarch, *Alcibiades.*

Another leader of a very different character was Alcibiades. He belonged to one of the noblest families of Athens and was a near kinsman of Pericles. Though still young, he was influential because of his high birth and his fascinating personality. His talents were dazzlingly brilliant in all directions; but he was lawless and violent, and followed no motive but self-interest and self-indulgence. Through his influence Athens allied herself with Argos, Elis, and Mantineia against the Lacedæmonians and their allies. The armies of these two unions met in battle in 418 B.C. The Lacedæmonians, who still had the best organization and discipline in Greece, were victorious. This success wiped out the disgrace which had lately come upon the Lacedæmonians and enabled them to regain much of their former influence in Peloponnese. Argos and Mantineia now made peace with Lacedæmon apart from Athens. This must have brought Alcibiades some loss of popularity; and apparently Hyperbolus hoped under the circumstances to procure the ostracism either of Nicias, the advocate of an unprofitable peace with Lacedæmon, or of Alcibiades, the author of the recent defeat. But Nicias and Alcibiades turned the tables: combining their political forces, they ostracised Hyperbolus. The Athenians must have felt that ostracism was now an obsolete and unnecessary institution, for they never made use of it again; and as for the political leaders, they began to seek other less dangerous means of assailing opponents.

Conquest of Melos. 416 B.C.

In the following year, the Athenians sent a fleet against Melos, now the only Ægean island outside of the empire.

It was a colony from Lacedæmon, but had continued neu-
Thuc. v, 84–116. tral till forced into hostility by Athenian attacks. When the armament arrived, the commanders held a conference with the magistrates and other leading men of Melos. The Athenians endeavored to prove that the voluntary surrender of Melos would be advantageous to both parties. They asserted that there could be no neutrals in the Ægean, — it belonged to them, with all the islands in it. If they failed to take possession, this would be regarded as a sign of weakness on their part. They insisted that the strongest had a right to rule — a principle well established, as they said, among men and gods. Their own rule, they maintained, was justified by their moderation towards inferiors; thus the Melians, if they became subjects, would be required merely to pay an annual tribute. The Melians, on the other hand, relying on the hope of help from the gods and the Lacedæmonians, refused to yield. But they were disappointed. The Athenians blockaded the island and starved the inhabitants into surrender. They then killed all the men of military age and enslaved the women and children. They were justified by Hellenic law in conquering the island, but the barbarous slaughter of the conquered, though common in that age, has proved an indelible stain on the good name of Athens; for we must remember that in their humanity, as well as in their intelligence, the Athenians were among the foremost peoples of antiquity.

Sicilian Expedition. 415–413 B.C. In the winter of this year the Athenians turned their thoughts once more to western Greece. Notwithstanding the recent treaty in Sicily, the old allies of Athens in that island were being injured by their enemies. Syracuse had expelled the democrats from Leontini, a neighboring Ionic city; and Selinus, relying upon the support of Syracuse, was encroaching on Segesta, a foreign community in alli-

ance with Athens. Segesta then asked help of Athens for itself and for Leontini. It promised to pay the expenses of an expedition and deceived the Athenians as to the amount of its own wealth. They, on their part, were urged by Alcibiades to undertake the conquest of Sicily. His motive was undoubtedly selfish — to open a field in which he might display his talents and win fame. The project was altogether unwise, for the Athenians could do little more than hold their empire together and defend it against the Peloponnesians. Morever, even if they should gain control of Sicily, there was little hope that they would be able to retain it. Athens could not become, like Rome, a great conquering power, chiefly for two reasons: first, she was strong only in her navy, and hence must restrict her empire to coasts and islands; and second, the Athenian state was inexpansive, — that is, it rarely bestowed the franchise upon aliens, and consequently never acquired a sufficient number of citizens for supporting an extensive imperial system. Nicias, in the assembly, strongly advised the Athenians to drop all thought of the undertaking. He told them they ought to stay at home and guard themselves against their near enemies. The Chalcidians were still unsubdued; with some of their neighbors the Athenians were actually at war, and with others — for example, the Bœotians — they were under a truce terminable at ten days' notice. The treaty with Lacedæmon, he continued, was little more than a name — the Athenians could maintain it only by keeping their resources well in hand. The Lacedæmonians felt the disgrace of the treaty and would break it as soon as they were given any prospect of success. No danger could come to Athens from Sicily, even if it should all unite under Syracuse. The Athenians, he said in conclusion, ought not to follow the advice of a young spend-

P. 178 f.

Thuc. vi, 8–14.

thrift (meaning Alcibiades), who had wasted his property in training horses for the Olympic games and now wanted to make up the loss at the expense of the state. But the warnings of Nicias were unheeded. The Athenians made ready in the spring of 415 B.C. to send a magnificent land and naval armament to Sicily. Aristophanes tells us how in Peiræus the preparations for such an expedition

Preparations.

*Acharn.* 544 ff.

> Filled the city with a noise of troops:
> And crews of ships, crowding and clamoring
> About the muster-masters and paymasters;
> With measuring corn out at the magazine,
> And all the porch choked with the multitude;
> With figures of Athena newly furbished,
> Painted and gilt, parading in the streets;
> And wineskins, kegs, and firkins, leeks, and onions;
> With garlic crammed in pouches, nets, and pokes;
> With garlands, singing girls, and bloody noses.
> Our arsenal would have sounded and resounded,
> With bangs and thwacks of driving bolts and nails,
> With shaping oars, and holes to put the oars in;
> With hacking, hammering, clattering, and boring,
> Words of command, whistles, and pipes, and fifes.

Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lamachus, an able officer of the school of Pericles, were to conduct the expedition. To say nothing of the evils of the divided command, the characters of Nicias and Alcibiades were so utterly incompatible as to give no prospect of harmony in the councils of war.

Mutilation of the Hermæ.

Thuc. vi, 27–29.

One morning, when the armament was nearly ready to sail, the Athenians were horrified to find that the archaic statues of Hermes, which stood everywhere throughout the city at the doorways of temples and private houses, and which they held in great reverence as the venerable guardians of peace and public order, had been nearly all mutilated in the night. The city was overwhelmed with terror. It was feared that a band of secret conspirators had attempted

to deprive Athens of divine protection and would next try to overthrow the government. Some, though without good cause, suspected Alcibiades of this impiety. A court of inquiry was appointed to investigate the matter. It failed to discover the perpetrators of this sacrilege, but learned that certain men, among them Alcibiades, had been profaning the Eleusinian mysteries by imitating them for amusement in private houses. Alcibiades in vain demanded a trial. His enemies feared that he would be acquitted through the support of the soldiers, with whom he was very popular. It would be safer, his opponents thought, to wait till the armament had departed and then recall Alcibiades for trial. Their opposition to him was intensified by the fear that the success of his expedition would bring him too much power for the good of the state.

The armament was to gather at Corcyra. The whole Athenian population thronged the wharves of Peiræus to watch the departure of the imperial city's contingent of a hundred galleys. The moment was full of tears and prayers, of anxiety and hope. The flower of Athenian strength was going forth to war, and some surmised that it would return no more.

The departure. 415 B.C.

Men were quite amazed at the boldness of the scheme and the magnificence of the spectacle, which were everywhere spoken of, no less than at the great disproportion of the force when compared with the enemy against whom it was intended. Never had a greater expedition been sent to a foreign land; never was there an enterprise in which the hope of future success seemed to be better justified by actual power.

Thuc. vi, 31 f.

When the ships were manned and everything required for the voyage had been placed on board, silence was proclaimed by the sound of the trumpet, and all with one voice before setting sail offered up the customary prayers; these were recited, not in each ship, but by a single herald, the whole fleet accompanying him. On every deck both officers and men, mingling wine in bowls, made libations from vessels of gold

and silver. The multitude of citizens and other well-wishers who were looking on from the land joined in the prayer. The crews raised the Pæan, and when the libations were completed put to sea. After sailing out for some distance in single file, the ships raced with one another as far as Ægina; thence they hastened onwards to Corcyra, where the allies who formed the rest of the army were assembling.

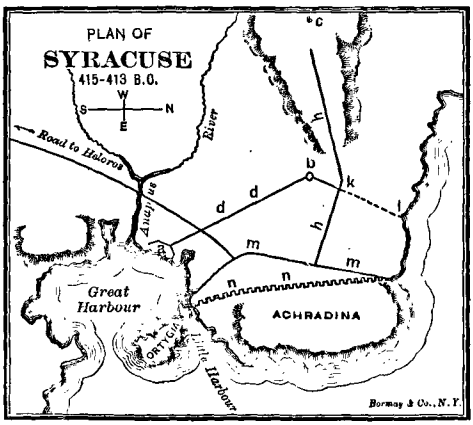
One hundred and thirty-four triremes and a great number of transports and merchant ships assembled at Corcyra with five thousand heavy-armed men on board, besides light auxiliaries and the crews. Hellas had seen larger fleets than this, but none so splendid or so formidable. About the middle of the summer it began its voyage across the Ionian Sea to the headland of Iapygia.

Plans of the commanders. Thuc. vi, 44 ff.

But the Western Greeks now gave Athens a cold reception. Even Ionian Rhegium, which had always been friendly, would not admit the Athenians within its walls. The great armament seemed a menace to the liberties of all alike. It soon appeared, too, that Segesta could furnish little support. The generals, greatly disappointed by such news, were in doubt as to what they should do. Lamachus wanted to attack Syracuse immediately; but Nicias preferred to display the fleet along the Sicilian coasts and then return home. Either plan would have been good; but Alcibiades proposed instead to win over as many Sicilian cities as possible by negotiation. Though Alcibiades had a genius for diplomacy, in this instance he miscalculated; the Greeks of the West could not be won over by mere discussion. This unwise course, however, was adopted. Yet before it had been followed far, Alcibiades was recalled to Athens for trial. He was to return in his own ship, and the official galley which had brought the summons was to accompany him. But on arriving at Thurii, Alcibiades made his escape to Peloponnese, whereupon the Athenians sentenced him to death. The trick of his opponents had succeeded

— probably to their satisfaction; but it had made of Alcibiades the most dangerous enemy that Athens ever had. Siege of Syracuse.

Nicias, who now held the superior command, trifled away the autumn in half-hearted undertakings and then wasted the winter at Catana. Meantime the Syracusans were enclosing their city with strong walls. In the spring the Athenians entered the Great Harbor and laid siege to Syracuse; they began to build a wall which would, if completed, cut the city off from communication by land with the rest of the island. They were successful in several minor engagements; but in one of these Lamachus was killed, and with his death the command lost all its energy. Still, the Syracusans were hard pressed and there was talk among them of surrender, when the face of affairs was sud- 414–413 B.C. P. 35.




*a.* Athenian naval camp.
*b.* Athenian fort.
*c.* Height in the rear of the Athenian line.
*d*, *d.* Athenian wall.
*k*, *l.* Unfinished part of Athenian wall.
*n*, *n.* Ancient wall of Syracuse.
*m*, *m.* New wall of Syracuse (415 B.C.).
*h*, *h.* Third Syracusan cross-wall.

denly changed by the arrival of the Spartan Gylippus. He came with a small force and with the promise of a larger one then preparing in Peloponnese. The Syracusans were greatly encouraged by the thought that the mother country was taking an interest in them and that they had a real

Spartan, a heaven-appointed leader, to direct the defence. The Lacedæmonians had sent him at the suggestion of Alcibiades, who was now in their city. Gylippus was a man of remarkable prudence and activity, and well acquainted with western Greece. The Syracusans immediately took the offensive; they built and maintained against the besiegers a cross wall extending from their outer line of defence on the north to the height in the rear of the Athenian position. This prevented the besiegers from finishing the northern part of their wall and secured a free communication with the country. At the same time the Syracusans were acquiring a navy sufficiently strong to venture battle with the Athenian fleet. There was no longer any reasonable hope of taking Syracuse; and Nicias would gladly have raised the siege, but dared not face the Athenian assembly after so great a failure. In the winter he wrote a letter to Athens, giving a detailed account of the situation and asking that either the armament be withdrawn or strong reënforcements sent. He wished also to retire from command on account of illness. But the Athenians would take no thought of abandoning the enterprise, and prepared to send nearly as large a land and naval force as the original one, and this, notwithstanding the fact that the war with Lacedæmon was now openly resumed.

Gylippus.

Thuc. vi, 104; vii, 1 ff.

In the spring of 413 B.C. Agis, king of the Lacedæmonians, led an army into Attica, which for twelve years had seen no enemy. Not content with ravaging the country, he seized and fortified, at the suggestion of Alcibiades, Deceleia, a strong position in the north of Attica. The Lacedæmonians continued to hold it winter and summer to the end of the war. The Athenians could now do no farming except under their very walls. They were obliged to keep perpetual watch about the city to prevent surprise,

Agis invades Attica.

Thuc. vii, 18–19; 27–28.

and their slaves deserted to the enemy in great numbers. But though they were themselves thus practically besieged by land, they sent out to Syracuse a new fleet of seventy-three triremes and five thousand hoplites commanded by Demosthenes, their ablest general. They were following up their scheme of Sicilian conquest with fatal persistence. Demosthenes, on his arrival at Syracuse, found the army in a sorry plight and the fleet already defeated in the Great Harbor by the Syracusans. He came just in time to save the besieging force from ruin. Demosthenes saw that the Athenians must either resume active operations at once or abandon the siege. He attempted immediately, in the night, to take the Syracusan cross wall by surprise, but was repulsed with great loss. He then advised Nicias to put the army on board and sail away. But Nicias delayed for some days. When finally he consented and everything was ready for embarking, there was an eclipse of the moon, which filled Nicias as well as the soldiers with superstitious fears. He would remain twenty-seven days longer, to avoid the effect of the evil omen. A man of sense would have explained to the soldiers that the omen was intended for the enemy, but so much could not be expected of Nicias. Before that time had elapsed the Athenians lost another naval battle, and the disheartened crews would fight no more. The Athenians then burned their ships and began to retreat by land, Nicias in advance and Demosthenes bringing up the rear. The two divisions were separated on the march and both were compelled to surrender after severe losses. Probably forty thousand men had taken part in the Sicilian expedition, and twenty-five thousand were left to begin the retreat. Demosthenes and Nicias were both put to death. Many of the captives were sold into slavery; many were thrown into the stone quarries near

Demosthenes at Syracuse.

Ruin of the Athenian armament. 413 B.C.

Thuc. vii, 47 ff.

Syracuse, where they for the most part perished of exposure and starvation. The failure of the Sicilian expedition was due to several causes, but chiefly to the stupidity and the superstition of Nicias. It compelled the Athenians at once to abandon all hope of conquering other peoples, and to consider instead how, with the small resources still remaining, they could save themselves and their empire from ruin.

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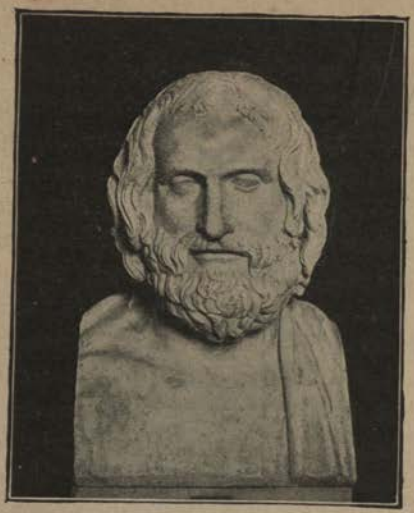
A Trireme

(From a relief, National Museum at Athens.)



EURIPIDES

(Vatican Museum, Rome.)

# CHAPTER XI

## THE NEW LEARNING AND THE CLOSING YEARS OF THE WAR (413–404 B.C.)

Philosophy and the state.

As the politicians and the generals, by their ambitious schemes and their gross mismanagement, had brought Athens to the verge of ruin, the imperial city, now turning to her educated men, placed in them her hope of salvation. To understand this new attitude of the state it is necessary to follow the development of thought through the latter half of the fifth century B.C.

P. 232.

The New Learning.

The philosophers with whom we have already become acquainted, from Thales to Heracleitus, busied themselves with attempting to explain how the world came into existence, of what it was composed, and what was the one law which governed it. Although later thinkers proposed new

P. 94 ff.

and better answers to these great questions, still all were alike engaged in a one-sided study of nature; instead of ascertaining facts by investigation, as modern scientists do, they contented themselves mainly with reasoning how things should be. People began to grow weary of them because, in addition to contradicting each other, they proposed absurd theories. Men began to doubt the possibility of real knowledge, and to conclude that everything was just as one thought it to be. This sceptical attitude toward truth is the essence of the New Learning — a combination of sophistry and rhetoric first brought about in the Age of Pericles. A sophist, or teacher of practical wisdom, aimed through a course of instruction to prepare his students for active life, especially for statesmanship. This he professed to accomplish by training in cleverness of thought. Rhetoric, which supplemented sophistry by equipping the student for public speaking, originated among the witty Sicilians. Its growth was quickened by the rise of democracy, which required the citizens to express their opinions on public affairs. Sophist and rhetorician were generally united in the same person. Thus Protagoras, the first sophist, was a master of argument, ready to prove the affirmative or negative of any proposition with equally cogent reasoning. As a sophist he taught that "Man is the measure of all things," that is, all things are to a man just what he believes them to be.

Sophistry.

Rhetoric.

Corax and Teisias.

Corax of Syracuse was the author of the first practical system of rhetoric, the object of which was to prepare men for speaking before the popular courts of his city. Corax — the name signifies crow — had a pupil, Teisias, who contracted to pay for the course of training after winning his first case at law. But the master, after waiting many years for his fee, sued the pupil. When the case came

before the popular court, Corax pleaded that if he won, he should receive the fee according to law, but that if he lost, Teisias would have to pay according to contract, so that however the case might be decided, the plaintiff was sure of receiving payment. This seemed convincing to the jury; but then Teisias arose and pleaded that if he won the case, the law would absolve him from payment, and if he failed, the contract exempted him. Hereupon the jury, persuaded that both litigants were rogues, pronounced their verdict, "Bad crow! bad egg!" This story illustrates the acuteness of argument in those times.

Effects of sophistry.

The teachings of the great sophists, among whom was Protagoras, contained much that was wholesome. They began the study of grammar and philology and the criticism of literature. They were the founders of the science of ethics, a principle of which was that all men were by nature brothers, and that slavery was therefore wrong. But some of the lesser sophists were mere jugglers in words, who, missing the spirit of Protagoras, taught literally "to make the worse cause appear the better." Such doctrines were severely lashed by the comic poets. One man is represented in comedy as refusing to pay his debts on the ground that he was not the same person as he who contracted them. This is a practical application of the doctrine of Heracleitus. With their specious logic the sophists assailed the foundations of belief in everything. They destroyed respect for religion by pointing out its inconsistencies and the immoralities of the gods: —

P. 95.

Euripides, *Ion*, 436 ff.

*Ion* (to Apollo). — O Phœbus, do not so, but as thou art supreme, follow in virtue's track; for whosoever of mortal men transgresses, him the gods punish. How, then, can it be just that you should enact laws for men, and yourselves incur the charge of breaking them? Now, I will put the case: wert thou, wert Poseidon, and Zeus, lord of heaven,

to make atonement to mankind for every sin, ye would empty your temples in paying the fines for your misdeeds. For when ye pursue pleasure in preference to the claims of prudence, ye act unjustly; no longer is it fair to call men wicked, if we are imitating the evil deeds of the gods, but rather those who give us such examples.

They assailed equally political and social institutions and called into question the laws on which state and society rested. Aristophanes represents a certain youth, who has taken a lesson in sophistry, as designing to repeal the law which allows parents to chastise their children, and to substitute for it one of quite a different nature: —

*Clouds*, 1421 ff. (Rogers.)

Was not the author of this (old) law
Like you and me, a man, sir?
And did he not persuade and draw
The rest to adopt his plan, sir?
Then have not I, too, I would learn,
A right to be the author
Of a new law, that in return
The son should beat the father?

Euripides, 480–406 B.C.

As the sophists taught only for pay, their direct influence was limited to the richer class; but their doctrines, taken up by the drama, were sown broadcast, though superficially, among the people. The great dramatic representative of the New Learning was Euripides. His education was broad; he had been an athlete, a painter, and a student of perhaps all the philosophic systems of his time. Along with his versatile attainments, he possessed a remarkable dramatic genius, — he was at once imaginative and realistic. No ancient writer seems so modern as Euripides; none knew human nature so well or sympathized so deeply with it, — especially with women and slaves, with the unfortunate and the lowly. He had indeed so many beggars among his characters that his critic, Aristophanes, the comic poet, declared his stage property consisted mainly of rags;

and as he was accustomed to compose in the attic, the critic said that most of his characters broke their limbs coming down stairs, hence the great number of cripples in his plays. There is in Euripides a decline in art, but so enormous an advance in humanism that his contemporaries could not understand and appreciate him. Notice his opinion of slavery: "'Tis but a single thing that brands the slave with shame — his name; in all else no upright slave is a whit worse than free-born men." Slaves. *Ion*, 854 ff.

Most of his great examples of virtue and of heroism are women, — Alcestis, for example, who willingly died to save her selfish husband's life. "Let Hades know, that swarthy god, and that old man who sits to row and steer alike at his death-ferry, that he hath carried over the lake of Acheron in his two-oared skiff a woman peerless amidst her sex. Oft of thee the Muses' votaries shall sing on the seven-stringed mountain shell and in hymns that need no harp,[1] glorifying thee, oft as the spring in his cycle cometh round at Sparta in that Carnean month when all night long the moon sails high o'erhead, yea, and in radiant Athens, happy town. So glorious a theme has thy death bequeathed to tuneful bards. Would it were in my power and range to bring thee to the light from the chambers of Hades and the streams of Cocytus with the oar that sweeps yon nether flood! For thou, and thou alone, most dear of women, hadst the courage to redeem thy husband from Hades in exchange for thy own life. Light lie the earth above thee, Lady!" Women. *Alcestis*, 439 ff. P. 129.

Euripides sits in judgment on the gods, calling them to account for their sins; he applies his standard of morality to mythical times and declares that the troubles which caused the Trojan War should have been settled by arbitra- Religion. P. 219.

[1] Epic poetry.

tion. Yet though he assails conventional religion with its soothsaying and immoral myths, he is himself profoundly religious: "Heaven's justice may tarry awhile, yet comes it at the last in no wise weakened." He is also intensely patriotic; he hates Sparta, and the Sicilian disaster has increased the bitterness and gloom of his nature. In his plays thereafter "dying Athens is not mentioned, but her death-struggle and her sins are constantly haunting us; the joy of battle is mostly gone, the horror of war is left." Æschylus had represented the struggle of Athens for the preservation of freedom and for the acquisition of empire; Sophocles had embodied the spirit of Athens at ease, enjoying the fruit of her labor; but Euripides was the poet of her political collapse, of that period in which the great city in an agony of soul was casting off her ambition for worldly conquest to emerge more beautiful and more spiritual than she had been before.

*Ion*, 1614 f.

Murray, p. 253.

The drama represents periods of history.

Of the comic writers of the age the most famous was Aristophanes. He was a rare poet: his wit never failed; his fancy was as lively and as creative as Shakspere's; his choruses are beautiful lyrics, fragrant of the country and woodland, free from the polish and from the trammels of life within the city. He has much, too, to tell us of the times in which he lived. No one has given us so true a picture of Athens and her people, and at the same time such caricatures of her individual public men. We might compare his character sketches with the cartoons of the modern newspaper. In his satirical attacks upon everything new in literature, religion, and politics, some think they recognize an earnest moral purpose. Browning, for instance, celebrates his

Aristophanes, about 450–385 B.C.

*Aristophanes' Apology.*

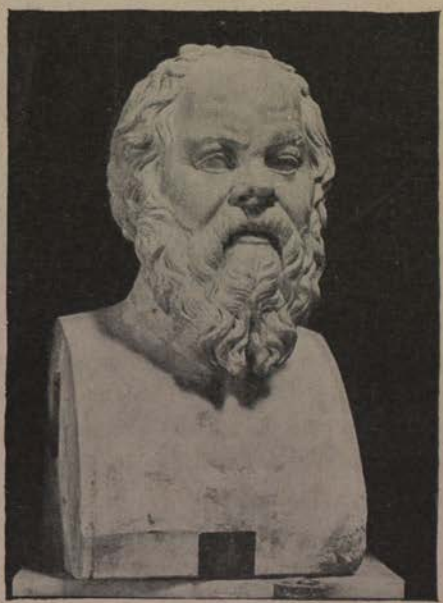
> Splendor of wit that springs a thunderball —
> Satire — to burn and purify the world,

True aim, fair purpose: just wit justly strikes
Injustice, — right as rightly quells the wrong,
Finds out in knaves', fools', cowards' armory
The tricky tinselled place fire flashes through.

But the good he did was not unmixed with evil. Guarded by a reputation for the strictest orthodoxy, he did not hesitate to burlesque the gods; and though he attacked Euripides, and all representatives of the New Learning, he aided in spreading the opinions which he opposed.

Socrates, 469–399 B.C.

A man whom Aristophanes took great pleasure in ridiculing, and whom he represented in the *Clouds* as the perfect example of a pale-faced, bare-footed, hair-splitting sophist, was the very one who looked farthest into the evils of the times and found a remedy for them. This was Socrates, whose thoughts and character have left a deep impression on the world for all time. Though but a sculptor in his youth, — an artisan from the Greek point of view, — he did not succeed well in his trade, as he had the habit of standing for hours, or even for a day and night together,



SOCRATES
(Capitoline Museum, Rome.)

Xenophon, *Memoirs of Socrates*; Plato, *Dialogues*.

wholly lost in thought. Then, too, he believed himself inspired, — a spirit accompanied him through life warning him against doing evil. Forsaking an occupation in which, under the circumstances, he could make but a poor living, he devoted himself to searching for truth. The sophists had said, "We are ignorant;" Socrates, admitting this, heralded a new era in human thought when he said, "I will seek knowledge," thus asserting, contrary to the sophists, the possibility of learning the truth. Though people called him sophist, he gave no course of study and charged no fee, but simply questioned any one whom he met till he had convinced his opponent in the argument that the latter knew nothing of the subject of conversation. In all this he thought he was fulfilling a heaven-appointed mission, — the quest of truth with the help of his fellow-men. Taking no thought of natural or of physical science, he busied himself with moral duties, inquiring, for instance, what was just and what unjust; what was bravery and what cowardice; what a state was and what the character of a statesman. His reasoning was inductive, — that is, he aimed to form general conceptions by bringing together a number of individual cases, and to establish clear and accurate definitions of these conceptions. True knowledge thus gained was, he asserted, the only guide to virtuous conduct. He even went so far as to say that knowledge and virtue were one and the same thing. Practically, this means little more than that a man should learn to think accurately and then follow the dictates of his reason. In this way Socrates laid for ethical science a solid foundation, on which, though incomplete, men could build far better character than on the sands of sophistry.

He differs from the sophists.

Xen. *Mem.* i, 1, 15.

Personality.

In a city in which people regarded the beautiful body as a sign of the beautiful soul within, in which they looked

upon an ugly man much as they would upon an anarchist, Socrates was the "ugliest of the sons of men." With his enormously large bald head, protruding eyes, flat nose, and thick lips, he resembled the satyr masks displayed in the shop windows at Athens; big-bodied and bandy-legged, he stalked like a pelican through the streets. But the pupil who looked beneath this satyr mask saw in the soul of the master images of fascinating beauty to remind him of the absolute perfection of God. Among the many scenes from the life of Socrates, one of the most pleasing is the picture of master and pupil sitting on the bank of the Ilissus, dipping their feet in the running stream, and engaged in philosophic talk:—

Plato, *Symposium.*

Gildersleeve, *Essays and Studies*, p. 221.

*Socrates.* By Hera, a fair resting-place, full of summer sounds and scents. Here is this lofty and spreading plane tree, and the chaste agnus high and clustering, in the fullest blossom and the greatest fragrance; and the stream which flows beneath the plane tree is deliciously cold to the feet. Judging from the ornaments and images, this must be a spot sacred to Acheloüs and the Nymphs. How delightful is the breeze, — so very sweet; and there is a sound in the air shrill and summerlike which makes answer to the chorus of the cicadæ. But the greatest charm of all is the grass, like a pillow gently sloping to the head.

Plato, *Phædrus.*

And when they had ceased conversing, Socrates prayed:—

Beloved Pan, and all ye other gods who haunt this place, give me beauty in the inward soul; and may the outward and the inward man be at one. May I reckon the wise to be the wealthy, and may I have such a quantity of gold as a temperate man, and he only, can bear and carry. — Anything more? This prayer, I think, is enough for me.

Though the words are Plato's, the spirit is that of Socrates. In some respects the influence of Socrates was temporarily harmful: his training increased the cleverness of certain vicious young men, as Alcibiades and Critias, without reforming their characters; he led men to distrust the

existing government at a time when patriotism and faith were most needed. And though in the end his teachings regenerated Athens, his fellow-citizens, mistaking him for
399 B.C. a sophist, condemned him to death on the ground that he had corrupted the youth, and had acted impiously toward the gods of the state.

Thucydides, about 470–400 B.C.

Thucydides the historian, who combines the intellectual strength of Æschylus with the analytical power of Socrates, accomplished for history what the sophists were achieving for science and religion: he brushed away the shimmer of the past. In his eyes the founding of states, the growth of constitutions, the early wars from the fabled siege of Troy to the victories of Platæa and Mycale, were insignificant; the grandeur of the present overshadowed them all. He wrote a history of the Peloponnesian War, including the events which led up to it. Though neither infallible nor absolutely free from prejudice, he is one of the most
P. 185. trustworthy of historians. In contrast with Herodotus, he is exceedingly complex in style and thought. Narrow, sceptical, and cold, he rarely betrays his sympathy unless, as Mahaffy suggests, by the violent contortions of grammar while describing some uncommonly brutal massacre. He shows his kinship with the sophists in the practical object of his work; it was to be immediately and permanently serviceable to statesmen and generals, not for mere entertainment, as was the history of Herodotus. Thucydides therefore detailed campaigns with the minutest precision, while omitting nearly all reference to the internal improvements and the civilization of the states which he treated. Many modern historians follow in his footsteps in this respect, even though their work may be for the general reader, and not, like that of Thucydides, for the specialist in the theory and practice of war.

Political theory.

Thucydides was far less interested than some of his contemporaries in the details of government. Men imbued with the New Learning were busying themselves in his time with criticising existing constitutions and with creating ideal forms of government. Among these authors was an Athenian oligarch, who, early in the Peloponnesian War, published anonymously a severe critique on the government of his city.[1] The unknown writer believed that the so-called better class ought to rule because it contained the highest degree of justice, temperance, and conscientiousness, while in the ranks of the people could be found the greatest amount of disorder and rascality — the result of poverty and lack of education. The only way to remedy the government, he declared, was to overthrow the democracy and establish the rule of the "gentlemen."

The "better class" and the people.

The truth is the reverse of this. The people as a whole, though superficially acquainted with the New Learning, remained little affected by it, while many of the educated class, "the enlightened," were thoroughly corrupted, — they had lost religion and patriotism, the foundations of morality, and had as yet discovered nothing to take their place. We shall soon see that the rascality and worthlessness of the "better class" proved a greater misfortune for Athens than the wreck of the Sicilian expedition.

Effects of the Sicilian disaster. 413 B.C.

At first the Athenians could not believe the news of the disaster in Sicily, even when they heard it from the survivors themselves. As they came to realize the truth, they vented their rage upon the orators and the soothsayers who had persuaded them to engage in the enterprise. For a time they seemed overwhelmed with despair: while mourning their losses they feared that they should now have to

Thuc. viii, 1.

[1] Namely, *The Constitution of Athens*, placed by mistake among the works of Xenophon.

contend against the whole Greek world, and they had no ships, no men, no money. But the spirit of Athens was elastic; her hopes revived and her citizens determined in some way to build a new fleet. At the same time they resolved to cut down expenses and to hold fast to their empire. The long political training of the Athenians had given them a moderation in adversity and a power to endure misfortune such as no oligarchic state in Hellas possessed. Fortunately they had the winter for preparation before the enemy could attack.

The enemies of Athens encouraged.

The Lacedæmonians and allies, elated by the news, began to hope once more for success. Neutrals hastened to join Sparta in order to share in the glory of triumphing over Athens. It is a significant fact that the Persian king now ordered his satraps, Tissaphernes of Sardis and Pharnabazus of the country about the Hellespont, to collect from the Greek cities of Asia Minor the tributes which had been unpaid for seventy years. Each satrap requested of Sparta a fleet to operate in his own locality, promising to support it with Persian gold. As the Chians had revolted against Athens and were likewise asking help, the Lacedæmonians resolved to send a fleet to aid them and Tissaphernes at once. The example of Chios was soon followed by other communities in the same region. Alcibiades himself went thither from Sparta to encourage rebellion against his native city. The Lacedæmonians then concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Persia. The treaty, though afterwards modified in important respects, still surrendered to Persia those cities of Asia Minor which Athens had protected against every enemy for nearly seventy years.

P. 214 ff.

412 B.C.

The Athenians put forth every energy to prevent the revolt from spreading. To Samos, their most faithful ally,

they granted independence and made this island the base of their naval operations. The contending parties remained nearly balanced in strength, even after the arrival of a Syracusan fleet under Hermocrates to help the Lacedæmonians; but the resources of Athens were gradually exhausted, while those of the enemy seemed limitless. Such was the state of affairs when an unexpected event turned the war for a time in favor of Athens. Alcibiades, hated by King Agis and fearing for his life, went over to Tissaphernes and persuaded him to cut down the pay of the Lacedæmonians and to keep back the Phœnician fleet which was daily expected in the Ægean. He convinced the satrap that it would be expedient to let Lacedæmon and Athens wear each other out in war, — insisting that the success of the former would be followed by the reconquest of Asiatic Greece from Persia. As Alcibiades sincerely desired to return to Athens, in order to effect his recall he aimed to win the gratitude of his countrymen by making them think he could gain for them the friendship of Persia. He wished, too, to recover on his return the leadership of the democratic party. But a serious obstacle was in the way, — Androcles, the present head of the party, was the very man who had sent him into exile. To accomplish his object, Alcibiades felt that he must first instigate others to overthrow the popular government along with the obnoxious chief, and then himself step in to restore it. In the light of a saviour of democracy he believed that he could return all-powerful to his native city.

Alcibiades holds the balance of war.

Holm, ii, p. 487.

The time was ripe for a constitutional experiment at Athens, as the Sicilian disaster seemed to prove the failure of democracy. Some of the officers of the army at Samos, who were themselves of the wealthier class, favored the establishment of an oligarchy, in which they thought they

Conspiracy of the oligarchs.

would have more of the privileges naturally belonging to men of their standing. Accordingly, when Alcibiades sent them word that he would return and make Tissaphernes an ally of Athens if they should set up an oligarchy, they readily consented. But when Peisander came to Athens as their spokesman, the Athenians met his proposals with a storm of indignation. They objected equally to changing the government and to recalling the impious traitor Alcibiades. But Peisander called up the objectors one by one and asked them what else could be done. "How are we to raise money to support the war against both Persia and our many Greek enemies?" he asked. Unable to meet this pointed argument, the people gave way in the hope that they might renew the democracy at the close of the war. Of course Peisander's argument was worthless, for the Persian king had no more love for oligarchy than for democracy, and was not disposed to make peace with Athens on any acceptable terms. It soon appeared, indeed, that Alcibiades had grossly deceived the Athenians in making them believe he could win the help of Persia.

Thuc. viii, 47 f.

Thuc. viii, 53–54.

Oligarchic constitutions.

The oligarchs proceeded, nevertheless, to carry out their designs. As a part of the programme, their clubs at Athens, organized and united under the lead of Antiphon, a brilliant rhetorician and a bold, sagacious schemer, assassinated Androcles and other prominent democrats, and in this way terrorized the whole state. The people, overestimating the extent of the conspiracy, feared to talk on the subject with one another, lest in so doing they might betray themselves to an enemy. This mutual distrust among the citizens made the oligarchs safe. These conspirators carried a resolution through the assembly to appoint a committee for drawing up a constitution on the basis of the Solonian and the Cleisthenean arrangements,

P. 289.

Arist. *Ath. Const.* 29.

with such modifications as might be thought good. The committee reported two constitutions, the first provisional, the second final, and both were adopted by the assembly. Under both constitutions public service was generally unpaid, a reaction against Aristeides. According to the provisional arrangement the state was to be ruled by a Council of Four Hundred, like that of Solon. This body was empowered to appoint the magistrates and to manage the whole business of government, but had no authority to change the laws. It could bring the final constitution into force as soon as it saw fit. The final constitution restricted the franchise to five thousand citizens, the wealthiest in the state. Of this number, those above thirty years of age were to be divided equally into four councils, which were to rule the state by turns. These were the first written constitutions which Athens had; both of them were artificial, ill adapted to the character of the people.

P. 155.

Rule of the Four Hundred.

When organized, the Four Hundred entered the council-house, accompanied by soldiers and assassins, and, dismissing the Council of Five Hundred, assumed the reins of government. The oligarchs ruled by force, assassinating, banishing, and imprisoning their opponents on mere suspicion. They showed their lack of patriotism by their willingness to make peace with Lacedæmon at any price, and their weakness by yielding Eubœa to the enemy.

The army and Alcibiades are democratic.

News of the violence and cruelty of the Four Hundred came to the Athenians at Samos. These soldiers assembled, declared that Athens had revolted, and that they themselves constituted the true government of the empire. They deposed their oligarchic officers and filled the vacant places with popular men; they prepared to carry on the war with vigor, and hoped through Alcibiades to win Persia to their side. Thrasybulus, one of the new command-

Thuc. viii, 75, 76.

Thuc. viii, 82.

ers, brought the famous exile to their camp. A democrat once more, Alcibiades was immediately elected general and placed in chief command of the army. Having now reached the goal of his hopes, he was ready to use all the resources of his mind to save Athens from the ruin he had brought upon her. To the envoys from the Four Hundred, he replied that this new council must abdicate immediately in favor of the Five Thousand and of the old Council of Five Hundred. At the same time he prudently restrained the troops from going to Athens to punish the oligarchic usurpers.

Failure of the Four Hundred.

P. 217.

The Four Hundred, threatened by the army and unable to make terms with Lacedæmon short of absolute submission, began to feel insecure. One of their chief difficulties was lack of agreement among themselves. They were neither nobles nor experienced politicians, but for the most part men of the lower class, who had been educated in the New Learning and wished to experiment in political theory by setting up a government of the "enlightened." They soon split into two factions: the extreme oligarchs, led by Antiphon and Peisander, and the moderates, under Theramenes. With the moderates in their favor, the Athenians overthrew the Four Hundred, after a three months' rule, and extended the franchise to all who could equip themselves with full armor. This form of government soon gave way to the democracy. The attempt to restrict the franchise had proved unwise; far better would

P. 178.

it have been to extend the citizenship to the best alien residents and to the most loyal allies. There was indeed some thought of this, but it was not carried out to any appreciable extent.

Persistence of Athens.

The Four Hundred had brought only misfortune to Athens. Under their slack rule the war had extended to

the Hellespont, and most of the cities in that region had revolted. The struggle continued seven years after their downfall. That Athens in her exhausted condition, without tributes or allies, could withstand for so long a time the combined strength of the rest of Greece, supported by Persian money, is one of the astonishing things in history, and proves clearly that the mass of Athenians had not been weakened by culture. For a time they were cheered by news of victories, especially of that at Cyzicus, gained by Alcibiades in 410 B.C. "Ships gone, our admiral dead, the men starving, at our wits' end what to do," was the laconic message which reached Sparta from Cyzicus. Lacedæmon then offered peace on the basis of the *status quo*, but Cleophon, the democratic leader at this time, persuaded the Athenians to reject the terms. It appeared doubtful whether a lasting peace could be secured without the complete triumph of one of the contending parties. The Athenians feared, too, that peace with Sparta would bring them another tyrannical oligarchy in place of their free constitution; and they had not yet lost hope of success in the war.

Cyrus and Lysander.

The two powers were still balanced when, in 408 B.C., Darius, king of Persia, who had resolved to throw the whole weight of his wealth in favor of Lacedæmon, despatched Cyrus, the younger of his two sons, to take the satrapy of Sardis from Tissaphernes and to give all possible aid to the enemies of Athens. In the same year Lysander, a born leader of men, a general and diplomatist of surpassing ability, came from Sparta to the seat of war. He visited Cyrus and easily won his way to the heart of the ambitious young prince. In the summer Alcibiades sailed from Peiræus for Ionia with one hundred well-equipped triremes. During his absence his lieutenant, Antiochus, risked a

Athenians defeated, 407 B.C.

battle and was defeated with the loss of fifteen ships. This was the first reverse which the Athenians had suffered since the time of the Four Hundred. As they held Alcibiades responsible for the misfortune, they failed to reëlect him general for the following year. Fearing to return home, he retired to a castle on the Hellespont which he had prepared for such an occasion. Thus the Athenians cast away a man who might have saved them. Though working to the end for his own glory, he was wiser now than in his youth and would have served his country well; but the confidence of his fellow-citizens in one who had been so impious and so traitorous could not but be shaken by the slightest reverse.

Xenophon, *Hellenica*, i, 5.

The battle of Arginusæ, 406 B.C.

The contending powers now put forth enormous efforts. In 406 B.C. the Athenians with a hundred and fifty triremes met a Peloponnesian fleet of a hundred and twenty triremes, under the Spartan admiral Callicratidas, near the islands of Arginusæ, and gained a complete victory. Athens lost twenty-five ships; the enemy seventy, with their commander and crews amounting to about fourteen thousand men. This was the severest battle of the war. The death of Callicratidas was a loss not to Sparta alone, but to all Hellas; for, besides being an able general, he was a man of exceptionally humane and noble character. He had regretted the war in which Greeks were engaged in killing their brethren, and had promised on his return to Sparta to do all in his power to make a general Hellenic peace. And indeed the Lacedæmonians, after hearing of their disaster, were willing for the sake of peace to leave Athens what she still possessed; but Cleophon again persuaded the Athenians to reject the conditions. On this occasion, says Aristotle, Cleophon came into the assembly drunk, with breastplate on, and declared he would accept

Xen. *Hell.* i, 6.

*Ath. Const.* 34.

no peace which involved the surrender of a single city of the empire. Possibly, however, his enthusiasm for war came not from wine, but from the recent victory; it may be, too, that the Peloponnesian congress would not have consented to the terms. It was a war in which Athens was contending not only for political principles, but even for freedom; and those Athenians were heroes who would rather die than sacrifice their principles or endanger the liberty of their children.

Condemnation of the generals.

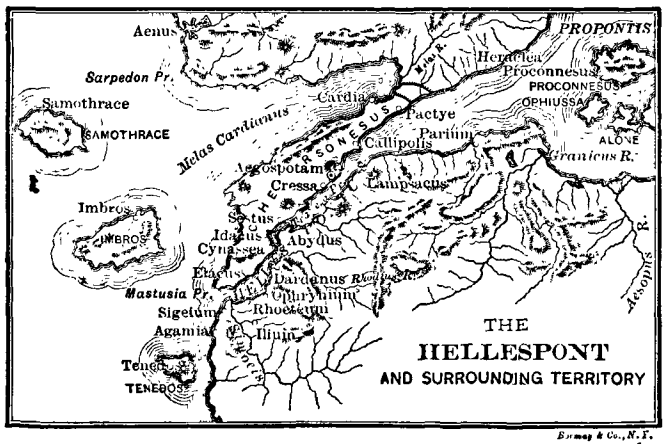
But the Athenians disgraced themselves for all time by putting to death six of the generals who had won the victory at Arginusæ on the ground that they had neglected to rescue the crews of the triremes wrecked in the battle. The commanders had ordered two ship-captains, Theramenes and Thrasybulus, to attend to the work, but a sudden storm had prevented the rescue of the unfortunate sailors. Theramenes, however, to clear himself of all possibility of blame, hounded on the citizens against his superiors. The Athenians violated the constitution in condemning the generals collectively, and in refusing them a sufficient opportunity for defence. Soon repenting of their conduct, they prosecuted those who had persuaded them to the judicial murder.

Xen. *Hell.* i, 6, 7.

Battle of Ægospotami, 405 B.C. Xen. *Hell.* ii, 1.

As it appeared that the war must continue, Cyrus and the Chians requested Lacedæmon to send them Lysander again, for they had implicit confidence in him. He came not as admiral, for no one could hold this office a second time, but as the admiral's secretary, yet with the understanding that he should be the real commander. The opposing fleets met in the Hellespont, — a hundred and eighty Athenian war-ships against two hundred from Peloponnese, the Athenians on the European side at the mouth of the Ægospotami, the Peloponnesians on the opposite

shore at Lampsacus. Lysander would not engage. For five days the Athenians sailed forth to offer battle, and for the fifth time retired with their challenge unaccepted. Leaving their ships along the shore, they dispersed as usual to gather food through the neighborhood. Lysander came with his whole fleet and found most of the enemy's triremes empty. The crews, returning hurriedly, fell into the hands of Lysander, who massacred three thousand Athenians to




punish them for having killed prisoners of war. In reality, Athens and Lacedæmon were equally to blame in this respect. It seems probable that the Athenians were betrayed to Lysander by one or more of their generals. Conon alone of the commanders escaped with a few ships; and, sending the official galley *Paralus* to Athens with the news, he, though innocent, fled for his life with the rest of his ships to Cyprus.

Effects of the defeat on Athens.

"It was night when the *Paralus* reached Athens with her evil tidings, on receipt of which a bitter wail of woe broke forth. From Peiræus, following the line of the

Long Walls up to the heart of the city, it swept and swelled, as each man passed the news to his neighbor. On that night no man slept. There was mourning and sorrow for those who were lost, but the lamentation for the dead was merged in even deeper sorrow for themselves, as they pictured the evils they were about to suffer, the like of which they had inflicted upon the men of Melos," and upon many others. Ships and men were lost, and they were soon besieged by land and sea. But no man dared to speak of submission. Finally, when on the point of starvation, they sent Theramenes and others to Sparta with full powers to treat for peace. Thereupon a Peloponnesian congress was held in Sparta, in which the Corinthians, the Thebans, and some others proposed to destroy Athens utterly, and to enslave the Athenians. But the Spartan ephors objected; they were unwilling, they said, that a city which had done such noble service for Greece in the perilous times of the Persian invasion should be enslaved. They would be content with milder conditions: that Athens should demolish the fortifications of Peiræus and the Long Walls, give up all her war-ships but twelve, follow Sparta in peace and in war, and permit the return of the political exiles. With these concessions, Athens might remain free and "under the constitution of the fathers." As the Athenian envoys entered their city, a great crowd gath-

Xen. *Hell.* ii, 2.

A Sepulchral Vase of Marble
(National Museum, Athens.)

The terms of peace, 404 B.C.

Xen. *Hell.* ii, 2.

ered about them trembling "lest their mission should have proved fruitless;" for many were already dying of starvation. A few still opposed the terms; but as Cleophon had been put out of the way by a judicial murder, the majority, now free from his control, ratified the treaty. Lysander entered Peiræus with his fleet, the exiles were already returning, and the Peloponnesians began the demolition of the walls to the music of flutes, with the idea that they were celebrating the return of liberty to Hellas.

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TEMPLE OF POSEIDON AT PÆSTUM (POSIDONIA)

# CHAPTER XII

## THE END OF FREEDOM IN SICILY AND IN ITALY (413–264 B.C.)

Carthaginian invasion of Sicily.

IN the year before the surrender of Athens to Sparta, Syracuse again fell under the tyranny. The events which led up to this revolution were as follows. For nearly seventy years the terror of the Athenian name had held the Carthaginians as well as the Persians at bay; but, on the overthrow of the Athenian naval supremacy, both Carthage and Persia again hoped to conquer parts of Greece. In 409 B.C., on the invitation of Segesta, which was still threatened by Selinus, Carthage sent over to Sicily a vast fleet conveying an army of a hundred thousand men under King Hannibal, grandson of that Hamilcar who had met

479–413 B.C.

P. 208 f.

P. 138.

his death at Himera. This great armament laid siege to Selinus; on the ninth day it stormed the city and butchered the inhabitants. In the quarries a few miles from Selinus may still be seen the gigantic columns for a temple to Zeus or Apollo which the people were just then building; they remain as monuments of the fearful catastrophe which fell upon this city. After plundering and burning Selinus, Hannibal marched on to Himera, where the siege and the massacre were reënacted. Though a few Himeræans escaped, three thousand captives were led to the spot where Hamilcar had sacrificed himself, and there killed with horrid torture and mutilation. In this manner Hannibal sought to appease the hungry appetite of his grandfather's ghost.

Siege of Acragas, 406 B.C.

A fresh army of mercenaries next invested Acragas, now the wealthiest and most luxurious city in the Greek world. One of the citizens could put eight hundred chariots into his daughter's bridal procession, another had two hundred and seventy thousand gallons of wine in his cellar; excessive wealth had weakened the inhabitants. The Phœnicians pressed the siege, using for their walls and mounds even the gravestones from the cemetery outside the city. It was rumored that a thunderbolt saved the tomb of Theron, victor of Himera, and that the Phœnician watchmen saw the ghosts of the disentombed dead flitting about them. A pestilence broke out which killed many of the besiegers, including Hannibal. Himilcon, the second in command, propitiated the angry gods with a multitude of sacrifices, among them a boy, — perhaps his own son. Finally, the people of Acragas, though reënforced by their neighbors, abandoned their city and settled in Leontini. Himilcon took up his winter quarters in deserted Acragas, and sent much of its wealth, including works of art, to Carthage.

Holm, ii, p. 519.

P. 138.

The Sicilians felt that Acragas had been lost through the treachery of Syracusan generals sent to defend it. A young Syracusan officer named Dionysius accused them in a public assembly. Though poor and of middle rank, he was supported by a few leading men of the city, with whose help he persuaded the people to depose the generals and to elect himself and others in their place. Then by bringing charges of treason against his colleagues, he soon had them deposed and himself made sole commander with absolute power. Immediately securing a body-guard of a thousand mercenaries, he made himself tyrant of his native city. The Syracusans, who had supposed him the soul of patriotism, were now bitterly disappointed; but those Sicilians who were most exposed to the attacks of the enemy still looked to him for deliverance. They, too, were soon undeceived, for Dionysius compelled the people of Gela and of Camarina to abandon their cities to the invader and to retire to Syracuse. Great was the indignation of all classes against the usurper, who seemed to have proved his incompetency by sacrificing two Hellenic cities to the foreigners. But through his mercenaries the tyrant maintained himself against every attempt to assassinate or to depose him. In 404 B.C. he concluded a treaty with the Carthaginians by which he yielded to them the whole island except the Sicels of the interior and the Greek cities of the eastern coast. The Carthaginians, for their part, acknowledged him as the absolute ruler of Syracuse.

Dionysius becomes tyrant, 405 B.C.

Grote, x, p. 455 f.

This treaty filled the Sicilian Greeks with sadness and alarm. The tyrant and the foreigner had divided the island between them, the foreigner receiving the lion's share. The enemy was gone, but no one knew how soon he would return, and the man on whom they had depended for protection had betrayed and enslaved them. But Dio-

Preparations for war.

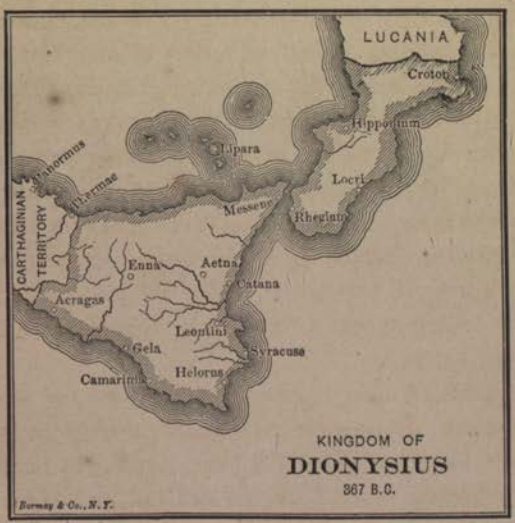
nysius was a better and abler man than the Sicilians supposed, — he had no intention of yielding Sicily definitively to the foreigner. Seven years he busied himself with increasing his power and with preparing for war on a grand scale. He employed sixty thousand men in building a great wall about Syracuse; he organized an army of eighty thousand infantry; his engineers invented a new instrument, afterwards known as the ballista, for throwing large stones against the enemy's walls. Dionysius was the first of the Greeks to combine effectively a variety of troops, as heavy-armed, light-armed, cavalry, and artillery. He built a fleet of more than three hundred vessels, some of them quinqueremes, — huge galleys with five banks of oars, invented by his shipwrights. The armaments of eastern Greece were puny compared with his. Though utterly unscrupulous, though he ground down the rich with taxes and with confiscations, and violated nearly every sentiment dear to the Greek heart, yet he gained a certain degree of popularity by the military preparations which made him appear as the strong champion of Hellas against the barbarian.

War with Carthage, 397–392 B.C.

He began war upon Carthage in 397 B.C., and with his vast armament nearly swept the Phœnicians from the island; but in the following year Himilcon, landing in Sicily, regained everything which Carthage had lost and Messene in addition. Most of the Messenians escaped, but Himilcon ordered his men to burn the woodwork and to grind the stones to powder. This was done; and a stranger in passing the spot would never have suspected that a great and free Hellenic city had once flourished there. The invaders then defeated the fleet of Dionysius and besieged the tyrant in Syracuse by land and sea. The newly built ramparts saved the city. A pestilence demoralized the besiegers; the Greeks, taking courage, set fire to the

Phœnician fleet in the Great Harbor and from their walls watched the conflagration of two thousand hostile ships. The siege was raised and the enemy pushed back till he held but the extreme western end of the island. All the rest Dionysius secured by the treaty of 392 B.C. Henceforth the tyrant was known officially as "Archon of Sicily."

Even while waging war with Carthage, Dionysius had begun to threaten the Greeks of Italy, and after conclud- Conquests in Italy.




ing peace he renewed his efforts to annex Magna Græcia to his own dominion. As the Italian Greeks were assailed at the same time by the Lucanians, a strong Samnite tribe from the interior, they could do nothing but yield to Dionysius. In the year 387 B.C. we find his kingdom in Italy extending as far as Croton. Some of the Greeks he had removed to Syracuse, others he had sold into slavery. His method of unifying western Greece failed to commend P. 35.

itself to Hellenic feeling; though everywhere he showed the utmost disregard for sacred places and institutions, the Greeks were powerless to resist.

Other wars.

Dionysius carried on two more wars with Carthage; and though he failed to dislodge the foreigner from Sicily, he still held the larger part of the island as well as his Italian possessions. He aided the Lacedæmonians in maintaining their supremacy over eastern Greece, and his power was generally recognized as the greatest in the Hellenic world.

Dionysius as a poet.

Dionysius was a poet as well as a commander; and though engaged in wars to the end, in his later years a desire for peace grew upon him. A tragedy of his won a prize at Athens; but he was so generally detested throughout Greece that he found few to appreciate his literary talents. A story is told that Philoxenus, a poet at his court, was imprisoned in a stone-quarry as a punishment for criticising the tyrant's poetry; when liberated soon afterwards and invited to hear another recital, he endured the reading for a few moments, and then cried out, "Take me back to the stone-quarry!" A splendid display of horses and chariots, of athletes and actors, which he made at the Olympic games, in like manner won no applause. The orator Lysias from Athens tried to incite the Greeks there assembled to begin war upon the tyrant by plundering his rich tents; and though the holiness of the festival prevented this outrage, the reciters of his poems were hissed, his chariots overturned in the race, and on the way home his delegation was shipwrecked, says Diodorus, the historian, because of the great stock of bad poetry on board. So far from winning the favor and admiration of the Greeks by his exhibit, the tyrant discovered that he was universally hated.

388 B.C. (?)

P. 289.

Dionysius and Plato.

P. 290 ff.

It was about this time that Plato, the Athenian philosopher, visited his court. Plato, who believed that within a

given time an absolute ruler could be of far more benefit to his country than an ordinary government, tried to induce Dionysius to rule according to the lofty Platonic ideas of justice. The tyrant answered the philosopher's arguments by having him exposed for sale in a slave-market. Plato was ransomed, however, and returned to Athens.

Character of Dionysius.

In 367 B.C. Dionysius died, after reigning thirty-eight years. He could hardly have ruled so long had he not possessed qualities which tended to make his power secure; his private character was without reproach, he was free from the immoralities which had destroyed many a tyrant; and, on the other hand, he never hesitated at bloodshed, confiscation of property, or anything else which would make him safe. Though brave in battle, he was exceedingly suspicious and employed a great number of spies to watch the movements of those whom he suspected at home and abroad. He performed a service for Greece and for Europe by imposing a check upon the Carthaginians till Rome could grow strong enough to protect European civilization.

Dionysius II, 367–356 and 346–345 B.C.

Dionysius II, who now came to the throne, was a weak but good-natured tyrant, ready to undo the wrongs committed by his grim father. The real power was for a time in the hands of a kinsman, Dion, a superficial convert to the Platonic philosophy. Though Plato again visited Syracuse with a view to making a tyranny into an ideal government, he failed as before. The courtier and the philosopher were quietly dismissed from the state on suspicion of plotting against the ruler. Some time afterward Dion returned with mercenaries, overthrew Dionysius II, and made himself tyrant, in 356 B.C.

Timoleon the Liberator, 345–337 B.C.

After playing the despot for a brief season, Dion was murdered at the instigation of another philosopher, Calippus, who in turn aspired to the tyranny. Finally, when in

Plutarch, *Timoleon.* P. 164.

346 B.C. Dionysius II regained the throne, he found his kingdom rapidly drifting into anarchy; the cities, throwing off the yoke of Syracuse, were falling one by one under tyrants; the Carthaginians were again invading Sicily; the Lucanians and Bruttians from Samnium were assailing the Greeks of Italy within and without his dominion. No hope could be placed in the effeminate despot, who was unfit for rule even in time of peace. Taking refuge at Leontini, certain patriots of Syracuse sent an urgent appeal for help to their mother city, Corinth. The Corinthians could offer but few ships and mercenaries; as commander, however, they sent Timoleon, a man of extraordinary ability and strength of character. Before setting out he visited the oracle of Apollo, and while he was in the shrine a ribbon embroidered with crowns and with figures of victory is said to have slipped down from among the offerings upon his head, seeming to indicate that the prophet god was crowning him with success; and on the voyage the sailors thought they saw Demeter's torch in the heavens guiding them through the night to Rhegium. Running the Phœnician blockade by a skilful trick, he landed in Sicily. There he found himself surrounded on all sides by enemies, unsupported even by the people he had come to save. Hicetas, leader of the patriots, turning traitor to the cause of freedom, was scheming to make himself despot of Syracuse. After defeating Dionysius and gaining possession of most of the city, he was now besieging the tyrant in his island castle. The traitor had an understanding with the Carthaginians by which they were to block the harbors of the city with their fleet. Timoleon, however, by defeating Hicetas in the vicinity of Mount Ætna, so raised his own reputation that Catana and other Sicilian communities began to give him their support. Then Dionysius, unable to cope with both Hice-

tas and the Carthaginians, surrendered his castle and military stores to Timoleon on condition that he might retire into private life at Corinth.

Battle of the Crimisus, about 340 B.C.

Timoleon's hopes began to brighten. Gradually he freed the Greek cities from tyrants and gave them good laws and settled governments. On the Crimisus River, in the neighborhood of Segesta, he met the vast mercenary force of Carthage which had come to Sicily for the purpose of overwhelming him. As his small army marched up the hill from the top of which the soldiers expected to get their first view of the enemy, their religious fears were aroused at sight of a train of mules laden with parsley, — a plant used for decorating tombs. But with the exclamation that the parsley chaplet was the reward of victory in the Isthmian games, P. 101. Timoleon seized some of the plant and made a wreath for his head; the officers, then the soldiers, followed his example; and the army swept over the hill like a host of victorious athletes. Throwing his enthusiastic troops upon the Carthaginian centre, which had just crossed the Crimisus, he crushed it with one mighty blow. A sudden storm beat full in the faces of the enemy; thousands were drowned in attempting to recross the swollen stream and thousands were killed or made captive. On that day Timoleon showed himself the peer of Epaminondas and of Alexander the Great.

Reorganization of Sicily.

When he had liberated all Greek Sicily from Carthage and from tyranny, he joined the cities in a federation, with Syracuse as leader in war. All members of the union were guaranteed their freedom. He next turned his attention to the economic condition of the country. As the long anarchy had left large tracts of land uncultivated and without owners, he invited Greeks from other countries to come and settle on the vacant farms. Thousands answered the

call; it required but a few peaceful years to bring prosperity to fruitful Sicily, and Timoleon lived to see the desolate island bloom again like a garden.

Last days of Timoleon.

After ruling eight years, he resigned his dictatorship and passed the remainder of his days as a private citizen of Syracuse, honored by all as their liberator. When he died the citizens established an annual festival in memory of the man "who had suppressed the tyrants, had overthrown the foreigner, had replenished the desolate cities, and had restored to the Sicilians the privilege of living under their own laws."

The end of Sicilian freedom.

The golden age of Timoleon was not to continue long. In 317 B.C. Agathocles became tyrant of Syracuse and of most of Sicily. As he was hardly so able a ruler as Dionysius I., though more cruel and unscrupulous, he failed to protect his country from the Carthaginians and from civil strife. A few years after his death, which occurred in 289 B.C., Pyrrhus, king of Epeirus, a man of noble character and of great military genius, came to western Greece with a well organized army to save his countrymen from the Romans and the Carthaginians. Though he gained brilliant victories over Rome, and confined the Phœnicians of Sicily to one walled town, Lilybæum, the ungrateful Greeks refused him their support; so he was compelled, after wasting his army, to return defeated to Epeirus. Rome immediately annexed southern Italy to her own domain, then drove the Phœnicians from Sicily, and finally made this island a province in her empire.

Pyrrhus, 280–274 B.C.

264–241 B.C.

End of freedom in Magna Græcia.

343 B.C.

The history of Magna Græcia after Dionysius I is similar to that of Sicily. Tarentum, hard pressed by the Lucanians, begged Sparta, the parent city, to lend aid. King Archidamus came accordingly with an army; but, after maintaining himself for some years against the barbarians of the interior,

he was defeated and slain in 338 B.C. Then came Alexander of Epeirus, brother-in-law of Alexander the Great. *Cf.* p. 307. The Epeirot king defeated both Lucanians and Bruttians, and for a time it seemed probable that Hellas would absorb all Italy. But the Greeks, loving liberty more than protection, rebelled against the victorious monarch, who now had to fight against the people he had come to save. Under these circumstances he, too, was defeated and killed by the barbarians. Tarentum next summoned Pyrrhus, whose story has already been outlined. The western Greeks fell under the power of Rome because their desire for local independence would not permit them to unite or to endure the dictatorship of their able men.

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SPARTAN MOSAIC

## CHAPTER XIII

### THE SUPREMACY OF SPARTA (404-371 B.C.)

The Policy of Lysander.

P. 238.

THE downfall of Athens, at the end of the Peloponnesian War, left Sparta supreme in the East as Syracuse was in the West. Never yet had the Hellenes reached so high a degree of political unity; and at the summit of power in eastern Greece stood Lysander, who had done more than any other man to achieve the result. The destiny of Greece was in his hands; it was his task to fashion the state of Hellas into an organic body which should perpetuate itself through its institutions after his hand should be withdrawn from the government. Though a man of rare talents, Lysander possessed no creative genius adequate to such an undertaking. He could think of nothing beyond the long-established Spartan and Athenian methods of dealing with allies and subjects. In his years of command he had be-

come acquainted with the leading men of oligarchic sentiment in all the communities of the Ægean region. After the war, he made these friends rulers of their several communities, establishing in each a decarchy, or board of ten oligarchs. In addition to this he stationed Lacedæmonian garrisons in most of the cities. These garrisons, maintained by the communities in which they were placed, enjoyed unlimited privileges of plundering the inhabitants. The commander, termed "harmost," was military governor of the community and protector of the oligarchy. He was usually a man of low birth, servile to Lysander and brutal towards the defenceless people over whom he ruled. The oligarchs, too, were men who had deep-seated grudges against the communities in which they had so long been without the influence they felt to be their due. Now, accordingly, they wreaked vengeance on their political opponents by expelling and assassinating them. They confiscated property through sheer greed, and insulted the women and the children. "What form of oppression escaped them? or what deed of shame or cruelty did they not perpetrate? They found their friends among the most lawless; they counted traitors as benefactors, and chose to be slaves to one of the helots, that they might be supported while they outraged their own country." In this way Isocrates, a contemporary writer, describes the decarchies. Under Athens a man could feel that life, property, and family were safe; now all this was reversed and the Greeks found themselves degraded to the rank of perioeci.

The decarchies.

Isoc. iv, 111.

P. 289.

The government of the "Thirty" at Athens is a good example of the way in which the maritime cities were ruled at this time. One of the clauses of the recent treaty permitted the return of the political exiles to Athens; but their coming was to bring no good to the city. Among

The Thirty, 404-403 B.C.

P. 237.

Critias.

them was Critias, a kinsman of Solon, and hence a noble of high rank. He was a product of the New Learning, a musician and poet, a rhetorician, philosopher, and political theorist. In a political pamphlet, he showed his preference for Sparta by disparaging the Athenian way of drinking as compared with that of Lacedæmon. Apparently he had no depth or strong emotions, but was cold and calculating, ambitious and unscrupulous; within his short career he developed a strange appetite for blood and plunder. Though destined to become the guiding spirit of the Thirty, he was for the present overshadowed by another political theorist, the shifty Theramenes, a friend of the middle class. The Thirty were a committee appointed at the dictation of Lysander and the oligarchic clubs to draw up a code of laws on the basis of the "constitution of the fathers"; while engaged in this work they were to exercise absolute authority over the state. The members of the committee were all oligarchs, among them Critias and Theramenes. Taking possession of the government, they filled the magistracies and the Council of Five Hundred with men after their own hearts. Instead of codifying the laws, however, they planned to hold their authority permanently. The first act of their administration, the destruction of certain pettifoggers who made a living by malicious accusations, met with universal applause; it convinced the citizens that the world was now to see the first example of a perfect state, governed by the highest virtue and wisdom.

Theramenes. P. 232.

Xen. *Hell.* ii, 3; Arist. *Ath. Const.* 34 f.

Tyranny.

But soon the Thirty began to kill their political opponents, men of known integrity. For their own safety, they called in a Lacedæmonian force of seven hundred men under Callibius as harmost, and lodged them in the Acropolis at the expense of the state. Supported by these foreign troops, the Thirty proceeded with their bloody work. As they

killed men for their property, they preferred wealthy victims, including even aristocrats, but found especial satisfaction in persecuting the alien residents. Lysias, the orator, who belonged to this class, was robbed of his property and driven into exile, and his brother was murdered.

Lysias, *Against Eratosthenes.*

The wily Theramenes, perceiving that such excesses would bring the Thirty to ruin and wishing to place himself on the winning side, began to oppose their bloody policy. He demanded, too, that the franchise should be given to all the wealthier Athenians; this measure, he said, would be just in itself and would make the government more secure. The Thirty acknowledged the soundness of his advice by drawing up a list of three thousand privileged citizens; all the rest they expelled from the city. The reign of terror was now well under way, — "wholesale butchery became the watchword." Hundreds of citizens fled into exile; but the Spartan ephors, to uphold the Thirty, warned them away from all parts of Greece. Some of the states, as Argos, Bœotia, and Chalcis, harbored them in defiance of the ephors. Thebes, long the enemy of Athens, became their rallying-place. Their number increased daily owing to the proceedings at Athens. Meantime the Thirty had split into two factions: the extremists under Critias, the moderates led by Theramenes. Critias saved himself by arbitrarily condemning his opponent to death. As Theramenes drank the cup of hemlock, he poured out the dregs with the exclamation, "Here's to the gentle Critias," intimating in sportive mockery that it would soon be his destroyer's turn to die.

Reign of terror.

Xen. *Hell.* ii, 3.

The death of Theramenes left Critias free to pursue his policy of terrorism. He continued the butchery till the number of victims amounted in the end to fifteen hundred; he followed the non-privileged citizens into the country and

Return of the patriots. Xen. *Hell.* ii, 4; Arist. *Ath. Const.* 37.

drove them beyond the border. Naturally the crowd of exiles swelled to a formidable number. At the head of a band of seventy patriots, Thrasybulus crossed the border from Thebes, seized Phyle, a strong fort high up in Mount Parnes, and maintained it against an attack of the enemies' forces. Soon afterwards, with his army increased to a thousand, he seized Peiræus. The Thirty with their Lacedæmonian garrison and native supporters marched down to attack him. "Yonder on the left," said Thrasybulus to the patriots, "you see the Thirty. These are the men who have robbed us of our city, hounded us from our homes, and set the seal of proscription on our dearest friends. But to-day the wheel of fortune has revolved; the gods fight on our side. Let fly your missiles with a will in right brave style, and bear yourselves as if success depended on each of you alone. Victory, God willing, shall this day restore to us the land of our fathers, our homes, and freedom. Wreak vengeance on yonder men for their wanton insolence!" The Thirty were beaten and Critias was killed. Lysander interfered to support the tyrants, but King Pausanias, through jealousy of Lysander, gave his aid with more effect to the patriots.

Xen. *op. cit.*

Reconciliation and amnesty, 403 B.C. Xen. *Hell.* ii, 4; Arist. *Const. Ath.* 38 f.

Through the mediation of Pausanias a happy reconciliation took place between the supporters of oligarchy and the returned exiles. An amnesty was granted to all with the exception of the Thirty and a few other guilty officials. While speaking on this subject in a public assembly, Thrasybulus fittingly expressed the moral of the long and horrible story of strife — now so fortunately ended — between the "better class" and the people of Athens. "Men of the city," he said, addressing the former, "my advice to you is that you learn to know yourselves; and to help you in this, I shall enumerate your good qualities on the ground

PHYLE

of which you claim the right to rule over us. Is it that you are more just than we? Nay, the people, who are poorer, have never tried to plunder you; but you, whose wealth would outweigh the whole of ours, have wrought many a shameful deed for the sake of gain. If then you have no monopoly of justice, can it be on the score of courage that you are warranted in holding your heads so high? Nay, but the arbitrament of war has just decided that against you. Or do you claim superiority of intelligence? You, who with all your wealth of arms and walls, money and Peloponnesian allies, have been paralyzed by men who have had none of these things to aid them! Or is it on these Laconian friends of yours that you pride yourselves? What! when these same friends have muzzled your government like a snappish cur and handed it over to the people, as its masters, for punishment. But do not you, the people," turning to the multitude, "misconceive me. I beg you to crown your list of exploits by one final display of virtue. Show to the world that you can be faithful to your oaths and flawless in your conduct." Xen. *op. cit.*

The moderation of the Athenians in maintaining the amnesty is a practical refutation of the charges against their democracy. The two recent oligarchic experiments — the rule of the Four Hundred and that of the Thirty — proved, on the other hand, that the government of the so-called "better class" was a delusion and a lie, and that the men who claimed superior privileges on the basis of assumed virtue were in reality cut-throats and robbers. Henceforth Athens was content with democracy. Unfortunately, however, the state remained as narrow as ever. Thrasybulus, one of the most liberal minded of Greek statesmen, attempted to enfranchise all who in the recent strife had cast their lot with the patriots, including alien residents, and even some Democracy and oligarchy.

P. 178.

slaves; but the contrary policy prevailed, and it was re-enacted that only those should be citizens whose parents were both Athenians.

Lysander in trouble, 403 B.C.

In the overthrow of the Thirty, Lysander suffered a severe defeat. Some of the most influential Spartans, among them King Pausanias, feared that his popularity would prove dangerous to Lacedæmon, and it was partly for this reason that the king had aided in the restoration of the Athenian democracy. Lysander was still influential throughout Ægean Greece; the friends he had established in power worshipped him. In the great temple of Artemis at Ephesus, they set up his statue near that of the goddess; the Samian oligarchs changed the name of their chief religious festival from Heræa to Lysandria in his honor. Lysander held court in Samos, and surrounded himself with men who flattered him in verse; at the same time he was merciless towards the common people, while he plotted to make himself master of all Greece. But when the ephors summoned him home to answer for his conduct, he came relying on his popularity; he avoided trial, however, on the pretext that he had vowed a pilgrimage to the shrine of Ammon in Libya. The ephors gave him permission to go.

Crisis at Sparta.

At this time the society and government of Lacedæmon were passing through a crisis. At the close of the war Lysander had brought a great sum of silver to Sparta,—

Xen. *Hell.* ii, 3.

the gift of Cyrus. In addition to this, it was enacted that the Greeks should pay to Lacedæmon an annual tribute of

Plutarch, *Agesilaus.*

a thousand talents. Some good old-fashioned Spartans protested against this innovation; the iron money of the fathers

P. 61.

satisfied them, and this "foreign corruption," if imported, would infect the morals of all. Though a law was passed which restricted the use of gold and silver to state purposes, it was easily evaded by the citizens. By violating the law

some grew immensely rich; while the more honest were reduced to poverty through the rise in prices. Luxuries, hitherto forbidden, now crept in, and the discipline began to relax.

Sparta and the empire.

The new imperial position of Lacedæmon was beset with difficulties. As long as Sparta was simply the head of a league of independent cities, everything worked well; but the Lacedæmonians were incompetent morally and intellectually for the task of ruling an empire. They were without experience in the administration of finance and justice, and the officials whom they sent beyond their border proved, now as ever, cruel, oppressive, and corrupt. Though on recalling Lysander they had abolished most of the decarchies, the system of harmosts and garrisons was to be indefinitely retained. The attitude of Sparta towards her Peloponnesian allies also changed for the worse; she began to disregard their rights, and to treat them as subjects, like her own perioeci. Because Elis wished to be free, King Agis ravaged her territory for two years and dedicated a tenth of the spoil to Apollo, as though the god of Hellas took pleasure in seeing his citizens pillaged.

*Cf.* p. 148.

P. 60.

398–397 B.C.

Accession of Agesilaus, 397 B.C. Xen. *Hell.* iii, 3.

Soon after closing this infamous campaign, Agis died and his brother Agesilaus reigned in his stead. This manner of succession was new in Sparta. Leotychidas, son of Agis, was the lawful heir; but Lysander, who had recovered his influence, by throwing suspicion on the birth of the son contrived to have the brother made king. Disappointed in his hope of gaining the supreme power, Lysander became a king-maker with the expectation of enjoying the substance of authority.

Character. Xen. *Agesilaus;* Plut. *Agesilaus.*

Agesilaus is an interesting person. The little lame man was gentle and courteous; he had always obeyed his superiors and was supposed to be very pliable. Though now

forty years of age, he was wholly inexperienced in command; and every one thought he would be a mere tool of Lysander, with whom he had intimately associated. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The character of Agesilaus was spotless; his unselfish devotion to his native city contrasts with the personal ambition of Lysander. Faithful in friendship, simple in life, and incorruptible, he was an ideal Spartan. But he had a Spartan's narrowness; and though he was called to rule a great part of Hellas, his sympathies were confined to his own city.

Revolution threatening.

Kings were of little importance now in Lacedæmon; they had dignity but little real power. Though nominally in command of the army, they were checked by a council of war composed of ephors or their deputies. The fleet was under the nauarch, or admiral, who was directly subordinate to the ephors. The power of the ephors was supported by the "peers," or fully privileged Spartans, who were members of the wealthy families. The "inferiors,"

P. 59 ff.

perioeci, and helots formed the discontented class. By favoring this class the kings had been seeking to make themselves independent of the ephors. There can be no doubt that before the accession of Agesilaus, Lysander himself schemed to overthrow the ephorate with the help of the dependent population; and though his plan was never brought to maturity, the new king had scarcely reigned a year when he was called upon to face a conspiracy which threatened the existence of the state.

Cinadon's conspiracy.

"When he was sacrificing one day in behalf of the city, the soothsayer warned him, saying, 'The gods reveal a conspiracy of the most fearful character;' and when the king had sacrificed a second time, he said, 'The aspect of the victims is now even yet more terrible;' but when he had sacrificed for the third time, the soothsayer exclaimed,

Xen. *Hell.* iii, 3.

'O Agesilaus, the sign is given to me, even as though we were in the midst of the enemy.' Thereupon they sacrificed to the deities who avert evil and work salvation, and so barely obtained good omens and ceased sacrificing. Nor had five days elapsed after the sacrifices were ended ere one came bringing the information to the ephors of a conspiracy, and named Cinadon as the ringleader, a young

SPARTAN VASE

man robust of body as of soul, but not one of the peers. Accordingly the ephors questioned their informant: 'How say you the occurrence is to take place?' and he who gave the information answered: 'Cinadon took me to the limit of the market-place, and bade me count how many Spartans there were in the market-place; and I counted — kings,

ephors, elders, and others — maybe forty. But tell me, Cinadon, I said to him, why have you bidden me count them? and he answered me: Those men, I would have you know, are your sworn foes; and all those others, more than four thousand congregated there, are your natural allies. Then he took and showed me in the streets, here one and there two of our enemies, as we chanced to come across them, and all the rest our natural allies; and so again, running through the list of Spartans to be found in the country districts, he still kept harping on that string: Look you, on each estate one foeman — the master — and all the rest allies.' The ephors asked, 'How many do you reckon are in the secret of this matter?' The informant answered, 'On that point also he gave me to understand that there were by no means many in their secret who were prime movers of the affair, but those few to be depended on; and to make up, said he, we ourselves are in *their* secret, all the rest of them — helots, enfranchised, inferiors, perioeci, one and all. Note their demeanor when Spartans chance to be the topic of their talk. Not one of them can conceal the delight it would give him if he might eat up every Spartan raw.'"

On investigation, the ephors found that weapons had been secretly collected and that the blow might be expected to fall at any moment. They arrested Cinadon and compelled him to confess his accomplices. When they asked him the object of his undertaking, he replied: "I wished to be inferior to no man in Lacedæmon." Thereupon the ephors had the ringleaders driven with scourges about the city and afterwards put to death. Cinadon was a brave man, who conspired because he believed himself to be unjustly debarred from the privileges of citizenship. Sparta, as the affair plainly shows, was now like a city built about the

crater of a volcano, likely at any moment to be destroyed by a political eruption.

Agesilaus upholds the constitution.

Agesilaus, sincerely devoted to the constitution, surprised every one by respecting the ephors. Best of all, he made himself master of Lysander, — another great surprise which gratified the ephors. At his request they appointed him to the command in Asia Minor to lead the Greeks in a war against Persia.

The expedition of Cyrus, 401 B.C. Xen. *Anabasis.* P. 233.

The causes of this war were as follows. On the death of Darius, the late king of Persia, Artaxerxes, the elder son, succeeded to the throne, while Cyrus, the younger, retained at Sardis the command of the most desirable part of Asia Minor. But Cyrus aspired to the sovereignty in place of his brother. Gathering accordingly a force of a hundred thousand Asiatics and thirteen thousand mercenary Greeks, he marched into the very heart of the Persian empire, and met his brother in battle at Cunaxa, near Babylon. Cyrus was killed and his Asiatics retired from the field; but the Greeks were victorious over the forces of the king, though they numbered four hundred thousand or more. Then the Greeks, under a truce, began their retreat in a northerly direction. Their generals were entrapped and slain by Tissaphernes, a rival of Cyrus, but they appointed new leaders, giving the chief place to the Spartan Cheirisophus. And though they were beset on all sides by enemies and were traversing a country wholly unknown to them and exceedingly difficult of passage, they kept their courage and discipline, and proved by their conduct that the Greeks were able to govern themselves. More than eight thousand reached the Black Sea in safety and thence returned to Greece. Xenophon, an Athenian of the school of Socrates, was, according to his own account, the inspiring genius of the retreat; it was owing to his prudence and eloquence

Holm, iii, p. 4 ff.

Xenophon.

that the army held together at critical moments. If the story of the retreat of the "Ten Thousand," which Xenophon tells so interestingly in his *Anabasis*, is true, the author must have been one of the ablest commanders of his age.

War between Lacedæmon and Persia.

The expedition of Cyrus had two important effects: first, it brought the Persian power into contempt among the Greeks, and second, it immediately caused war between Persia and Lacedæmon. For this state, by supporting Cyrus, had incurred the anger of the Persian king. Then, too,

P. 228.

Tissaphernes, successor of Cyrus as governor of Sardis, began to subdue the Greeks of Asia Minor, who in turn appealed to Sparta for help. In answer to the request, a

400 B.C. Xen. *Hell.* iii, 1.

strong force of Peloponnesians immediately crossed to Asia Minor and, incorporating the remnant of the Ten Thousand, began war upon the Persians. In 396 B.C. Agesilaus came with a few thousand additional troops and took command in person. It was his wish to liberate all the Asiatic Greeks. As the expedition of Cyrus had taught him how weak the Persians were, he even hoped to overthrow their empire. The Greeks were enterprising, ready to seek new homes and employment wherever they could do so in peace; but for two centuries they had been confined to a narrow section of the Mediterranean. If the world was to enjoy the benefits of their civilization, it was necessary that the barriers on the east and the west be torn down. This campaign of Agesilaus is interesting as an attempt to open Asia to Hellenic civilization. Henceforth the Greeks never lost sight of the idea till it was realized by Alexander the Great.

Battle off Cnidus, 394 B.C.

Agesilaus succeeded in freeing the Greeks; but while he was gaining ground on land, his navy was destroyed off Cnidus by a Greek and Phœnician fleet under the Athenian Conon in Persian service. Thus the Spartan naval

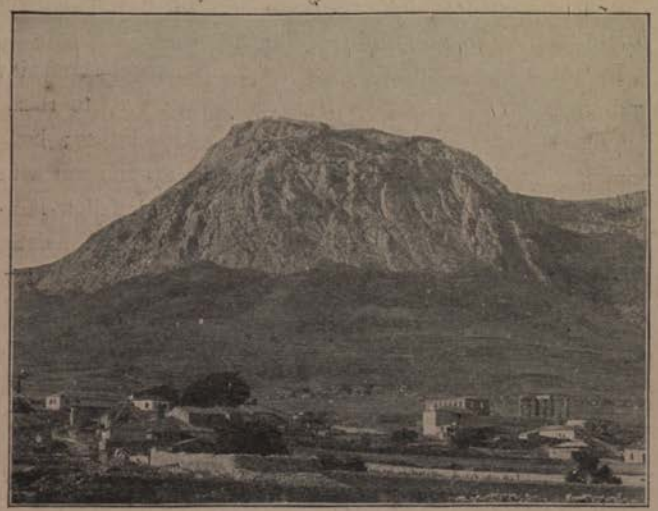
supremacy, established originally by Persian gold, fell at a single blow. Conon sailed from island to island, expelling the harmosts and freeing all from Lacedæmonian rule. As Sparta had proved ungrateful for Persian help, the king's gold was now thrown into the balance against her. The next year Conon anchored his fleet in the harbors of Peiræus, and with the help of Persia and of the neighbors of Athens he began to rebuild the Long Walls. His city was again to count as a great power in Greece.

Xen. *Hell.* iv, 8.

393 B.C.

But even before the battle was fought off Cnidus, a war against Sparta broke out in continental Greece. The governing city was tyrannical; the greater allied states, as Thebes and Corinth, wished to share in the profits of the

The Corinthian War, 395–387 B.C. Xen. *Hell.* iii, 5 ff.



CITADEL OF CORINTH

war with Athens, while the lesser communities desired at least their independence. As they were all disappointed in their hopes, they began to show discontent. The greater

states had refused to take part in the Asiatic campaign; the Bœotians had gone so far as to insult Agesilaus by overturning his sacrifices at Aulis, when he was on the point of embarking for Asia; in 395 B.C. they provoked Lacedæmon to a war which lasted eight years. This was called the Corinthian War because the struggle centred chiefly about Corinth and the Isthmus. Athens, Corinth, and several other states took the side of Bœotia, while Persia supplied the funds. The condition of Greece had become deplorable. Sparta, too weak to rule by force, had not the wisdom to govern according to law. As the Peloponnesian War had destroyed the Athenian empire, the Corinthian War disorganized the Peloponnesian League; the traditional state system of Hellas, which had long served as the basis of her civilization, was crumbling.

Agesilaus recalled.

Lysander had been killed early in the war, and Pausanias had proved inefficient; so it became necessary to recall Agesilaus. This was a grievous blow to his hopes; both commander and soldiers regretted giving up the war with Persia in order to turn their arms against their fellow-Hellenes. "To aid the fatherland," said he to the Asiatic Greeks, "is an imperative duty. If, however, matters turn out well on the other side, rely upon it, friends and allies, I will not forget you, but shall be back anon to carry out your wishes." Though on his return Agesilaus gained victories, he could not remedy the troubles. Indeed, the military prestige of Sparta, which since the dawn of history had but once been called into question,[1] received a severe and lasting shock at the hands of the Athenian Iphicrates. It was he who adapted the military system of his state to the new conditions of warfare. The armies of the Greek cities were no longer made up mainly of citizens, as in former time,

Xen. *Hell.* iv, 2.

Iphicrates.

[1] After the capture of Sphacteria; p. 202.

but in large part of mercenaries. The inhabitants of the older countries of Hellas — the parts which had longest been civilized — were disinclined to military service; they preferred the enjoyments of peace. But the political organization of Greece was not yet well enough developed to prevent continual war between the states. The peace-loving communities, as Athens and Corinth, accordingly employed mercenaries, drawing them mainly from the less developed states, as Ætolia and Acarnania, which still remained great storehouses of military strength. Now professional soldiers, who had to travel about a great deal more than citizens, found hoplite service exceedingly cumbersome; Iphicrates therefore solved a great problem in warfare by so increasing the efficiency of light-armed troops that they could cope successfully with the hoplites. First he made their shields smaller and their pikes and swords heavier and longer, — that is, while weakening their means of defence, he greatly strengthened their offensive arms. Then he put them through a careful training that they might act as individuals rather than in mass. Their nimbleness and dexterity supplied the lack of defensive armor and at the same time gave them the advantage over heavy infantry. After experimenting successfully with his light-armed troops to assure himself of their superiority to heavy-armed, he attacked in the neighborhood of Corinth a mora, or battalion, of Spartan heavy infantry, six hundred strong, and cut it to pieces. The Lacedæmonians never fully recovered from the blow; the military organization which had been the foundation of their supremacy in Greece proved defective.

390 B.C. Xen. *Hell.* iv, 5.

The Lacedæmonians acknowledged their failure in the war by coming to terms with Persia. The king was ready to use his money and influence for the preservation of a peace which should assure him the possession of Asia Minor;

Treaty of Antalcidas, 387 B.C.

and Lacedæmon could do nothing but accept these terms. Accordingly her ambassador, Antalcidas, and Tirabazus, the king's legate, invited all the Greek states to send deputies to Sardis for the purpose of concluding peace. When they arrived, Tiribazus showed them the king's seal on a document which he held in his hand, and read from it the following terms of peace imposed by Persia upon the Greek states:

Xen. *Hell.* v, 1.

"King Artaxerxes deems it just that the cities in Asia, with the islands of Clazomenæ and Cyprus, should belong to himself; the rest of the Hellenic cities, both small and great, he will leave independent, with the exception of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, which three are to belong to Athens as of yore. Should any of the parties concerned not accept this peace, I, Artaxerxes, together with those who share my views, will war against the offenders by land and sea, with ships and money." As the Greek states believed it impossible to wage war successfully with Lacedæmon and Persia at once, they accepted the terms. Thebes yielded with the greatest reluctance, for the treaty required her to give up her supremacy over Bœotia. By the treaty of Antalcidas, the Greeks acknowledged their inability for the present to keep peace among themselves; hence they called Persia in to arbitrate between them, and yielded Asiatic Greece as the price of the king's interference. As executor of his will, Lacedæmon again became the undisputed head of eastern Greece.

Pp. 24, 166.

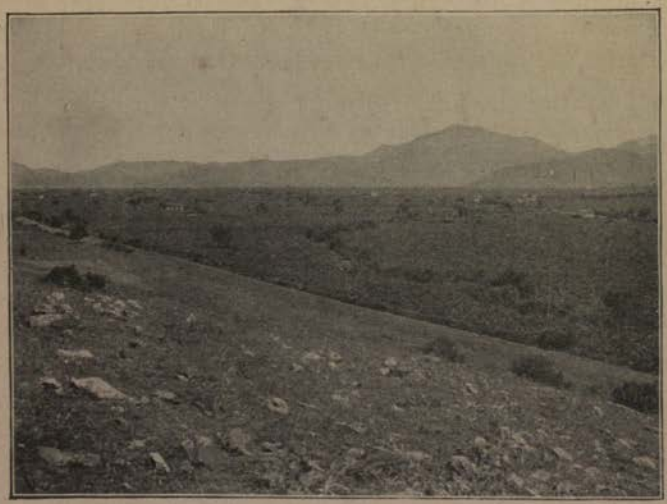
Lacedæmon opposes federations.

The Lacedæmonians still ruled according to the policy of Lysander, — a combination of brute force and cunning. They especially attempted to strengthen their position by weakening the states from which they might expect resistance. First they destroyed the city of Mantineia, and scattered the inhabitants in villages. Then in northern Greece they assailed the Chalcidic Federation, which though re-

383-379 B.C.

cently formed had already grown powerful. Little is known of the constitution of this league, but enough to suggest that the Chalcidians had solved at last the great problem which had confronted the Greeks for centuries, — how their cities might retain each its identity, and yet be merged in one large state with equal rights for all. The cities of this league had become municipalities; the citizens could live and hold land in whichever cities they pleased, and marry

Xen. *Hell.* v, 2.



THE PLAIN OF MANTINEIA

with whom they willed. Though Olynthus was the capital, the men of that city enjoyed no superior rights. The new organization was called, not the Olynthian, but the Chalcidic League. It had already developed a strong military power, and was rapidly extending through force and diplomacy; it threatened to absorb Macedon, and invited Athens and Thebes to join it. Had it been allowed to grow, there is some ground for believing that it might have brought all

Hellas into one great state, and thus have proved the political salvation of the Greeks. The Lacedæmonians, however, by destroying the league, and by the general policy of opposition to federalism, checked the growth of organic unity and left Greece weak against foreign enemies.

Seizure of the Cadmeia, 383 B.C.

While at war with Chalcidice, they seized the Cadmeia, citadel of Thebes, and occupied it with a garrison in open violation of all law. Even the citizens of Sparta, not to speak of the Greeks in general, were indignant with Phœbidas, who had done the violent deed; but Agesilaus excused him on the ground that the act was advantageous to Sparta, thus setting forth clearly the principle that Greece was to be ruled for the benefit merely of the governing city. Though the Lacedæmonians punished Phœbidas, they approved the deed by leaving the garrison in the Cadmeia.

Climax of prosperity. Xen. *Hell.* v, 3-4.

"On every side the affairs of Lacedæmon had signally prospered: Thebes and the other Bœotian states lay absolutely at her feet; Corinth had become her most faithful ally; Argos . . . was humbled to the dust; Athens was isolated; and lastly, those of her own allies who had displayed a hostile feeling towards her had been punished; so that, to all outward appearance, the foundations of her empire were well and firmly laid.

"Pride goeth before destruction."

"Abundant examples might be found alike in Hellenic and in foreign history, to prove that the divine powers mark what is done amiss, winking neither at impiety nor at the commission of unhallowed acts; in the present instance, the Lacedæmonians, who had pledged themselves by oath to leave the states independent, had laid violent hands on the citadel of Thebes, and were eventually punished by the victims of that iniquity single-handed."

Tyranny arouses resistance.

With these words Xenophon prepares the reader for understanding the sudden reverse in the fortunes of the

THE MODERN TOWN OF SPARTA

(Mount Taÿgetus in the background.)

Lacedæmonians. Sparta was now the acknowledged leader of all eastern Greece, supported by Persia on the east and by Dionysius, the absolute ruler of the West. It probably appeared to Agesilaus that the political unification of Hellas was achieved. But the policy of the ruling city was soon to awaken moral forces which were to overthrow her supremacy forever. Resistance was first aroused in Thebes, where the oppressor's hand was heaviest. In that city the polemarchs, as representatives of the oligarchic party, ruled by terrorism, imprisoning some of the opposite party and banishing others. The exiles took refuge in Athens, and there found sympathy. Among the refugees was Pelopidas, a wealthy Theban, full of patriotism and brave to recklessness, —the very man his city needed to save her. Pelopidas had left behind him in Thebes an intimate friend, Epaminondas, an orator of remarkable keenness and force, and a philosopher of the Pythagorean school.

Plut. *Pelopidas.*

The oligarchs thought Epaminondas a harmless dreamer; but while they allowed him to remain unmolested at home, he was attracting into his school the most capable youths of Thebes, and was arousing in them the moral power which was to set his country free. The young Thebans, who delighted in physical training, learned from the philosopher that mere size of muscle was of no advantage, that they should aim rather at agility and endurance. He encouraged them to wrestle with the Lacedæmonian soldiers in the Cadmeia, that, when the crisis should come, they might meet them without fear.

Epaminondas.

Meantime Pelopidas at Athens was planning to return with the exiles to overthrow the oligarchy. He often told them at their meetings that it was both dishonorable and impious to neglect their enslaved country, and that they should emulate the heroic courage of Thrasybulus; as he

Theban patriots in Athens.

Xen. *Hell.* v. 4; Plut. *Pelopidas.*

P. 253 f.

had advanced from Thebes to break the power of the Athenian tyrants, so they should march from Athens to free Thebes. Four years passed in this manner and it was now the winter of 379 B.C. Olynthus had fallen, resistance to Sparta was becoming every day more hopeless, there was need of haste.

Fall of the Theban oligarchy, 379 B.C.

Selecting a hundred of his most faithful friends, Pelopidas led them to Eleusis. There twelve of the younger men, including Pelopidas, eagerly undertook the dangerous task of striking a secret blow for their country. They dressed themselves like huntsmen, and, accompanied by dogs, crossed Mount Parnes towards Thebes in groups of two and three. A snow-storm had just set in when at dark these men, their faces muffled in their cloaks, entered the city by various gates and met at the house of Charon, leader of another band of conspirators. On the following night, Phyllidas, an official who was also in the plot, held a banquet to which he invited all the polemarchs except Leontiades, the head of the oligarchic party.

While these magistrates were carousing, some of the conspirators entered disguised as women and killed them. At the same time Pelopidas with two companions went to the house of Leontiades, and after a hard struggle made away with him. The next morning Epaminondas introduced the leaders of the conspiracy to the assembled citizens, who elected them Bœotarchs, or chief magistrates of Bœotia. A democracy was now established, and the garrison in the Cadmeia surrendered with the privilege of departing unharmed. Thebes was again free.

Athenian maritime confederacy, 377 B.C.

The Athenians, though in sympathy with their neighbor, would gladly have remained neutral, had not the Lacedæmonians driven them to war by a treacherous attempt to seize Peiræus. Sphodrias, who was guilty of this violation

of interstate law, was tried and condemned at Sparta; but Agesilaus pardoned him on the ground that "he had always been constant to the call of honor and that Sparta needed such men." The maritime cities of the Ægean, which since the battle of Cnidus had again been looking to Athens for protection, now renewed their alliance with her. The new league was to be a union of the Greeks for the defence of their liberties against Sparta. Each allied state sent a deputy to a congress at Athens. It was agreed that the leading city alone should have no representative in this body in order that the deputies might not be influenced by the presidency or even by the presence of an Athenian. A measure to be binding on the league must receive the approval of both Athens and congress. This arrangement made the leading city equal to all the others combined, but prevented her from acquiring absolute power such as she had exercised over the members of the earlier league. And as the planting of Athenian colonies within the allied states had in the preceding century been a cause of sore complaint, Athens agreed to offend no more in this respect. There were to be contributions of ships and money as before, but since the leading city was no longer in a position to compel the allies to perform their duties, the league remained far weaker than it had been in the preceding century.

Xen. *op. cit.*

Gilbert, P. 435 ff.

P. 170.

As the new alliance included Thebes and about seventy other cities, it was more than a match for Peloponnese; but the Thebans finally withdrew from the war and busied themselves with subduing the Bœotian towns. Athens, left to carry on the struggle alone and displeased with the policy of Thebes in relation to Bœotia, opened negotiations with Lacedæmon. Thereupon a convention of all the Greek states met in Sparta to establish an Hellenic peace.

Hellenic peace convention, 371 B.C.

Though the treaty of Antalcidas was renewed, the Persian king could no longer arbitrate between the Greeks, — they now felt able to manage their own affairs. It is interesting to see them acting together in the interest of peace and endeavoring to form one Hellenic state on the basis of local independence and equal rights. The convention resolved to accept peace on the following terms: "the withdrawal of harmosts from the cities, the disbanding of armaments naval and military, and the guarantee of independence to the states. If any state transgressed these stipulations, it lay in the option of any power whatsoever to aid the states so injured, while conversely, to bring such aid was not compulsory on any power against its will."

Xen. *Hell.* vi, 3.

Though all were ready to make peace on these terms, trouble arose in regard to ratifying the treaty. Sparta was permitted to sign in behalf of her allies on promising to leave them their freedom. Reserving this especial privilege for herself, Sparta ordered all the other leagues to dissolve. When, accordingly, Agesilaus demanded that the Bœotian towns should be permitted to sign for themselves, Epaminondas, the Theban deputy, declared that his city had as good a right to represent all Bœotia as Sparta to represent all Laconia. His boldness startled the convention. For ages the Greeks had stood in awe of Sparta, and no one had dared question her authority within the borders of Lacedæmon. But the deputy from Thebes was winning his point with the members when Agesilaus in great rage sprang to his feet and bade him say once for all whether Bœotia should be independent. "Yes, if you will give the same freedom to Laconia," Epaminondas replied. The Spartan king then struck the name of Thebes from the list of states represented in the convention, excluding her thus from the peace.

Epaminondas beards the lion in his den.

Plut. *Pelopidas;* Xen. *Hell.* vi, 3; cf. Freeman, *Fed. Gov.* p. 137.

War between Lacedæmon and Thebes.

The treaty was signed, the convention dissolved, the deputies returned home. All eyes turned towards the impending conflict; every one expected to see the city of Epaminondas punished, perhaps destroyed, for the boldness of her leader.

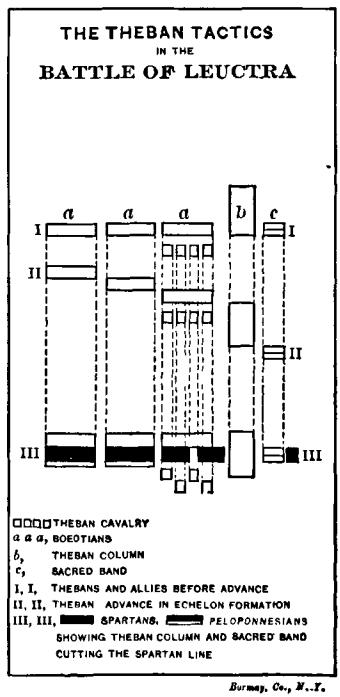
The battle of Leuctra, 371 B.C.

Leuctra was a small town in Bœotia southwest of Thebes. The battle fought there in 371 B.C. was in its political effects the most important in which only Greeks were engaged; to the student of military science it is one of the most interesting in history.

The tactics of Epaminondas.

Xen. *Hell.* vi, 4; Plut. *Pelopidas.*

P. 203.




Epaminondas had of late been studying military science, the result of which was a sweeping revolution in warfare. The Bœotians had always made excellent soldiers, and as far back as the battle of Delium their commander had won by massing his men in a heavy phalanx. This solid body of infantry was to be the chief element in the new military system; Epaminondas was to convert the experiences of his countrymen into the most important principle of military science, — the principle of concentrating the attack upon a single point of the enemy's line. It was mainly by the application of this idea that Napoleon won his great victories. With Epaminondas it took the form of charg-

ing in column combined with an oblique advance of his entire army. Opposite to the Peloponnesian right, made up of Lacedæmonians under King Cleombrotus, he massed his left in a column fifty deep and led it to the attack. The enemy, drawn up uniformly twelve deep in the old-fashioned way, could not withstand the terrific shock. The Bœotian centre purposely advanced more slowly than the column, and the right still more slowly, so that these divisions of the line took only the slightest part in the battle. But the Bœotian cavaliers, who were well-trained and high-spirited, easily put to rout the inefficient horsemen of the enemy, and the Sacred Band, Epaminondas' school of Theban youths, followed the impetuous Pelopidas in an irresistible charge on the extreme Spartan right. King Cleombrotus was killed, his army thoroughly beaten by a force far inferior in number, and the supremacy of Sparta was at an end.

End of the Spartan supremacy.

### Sources

Reading.

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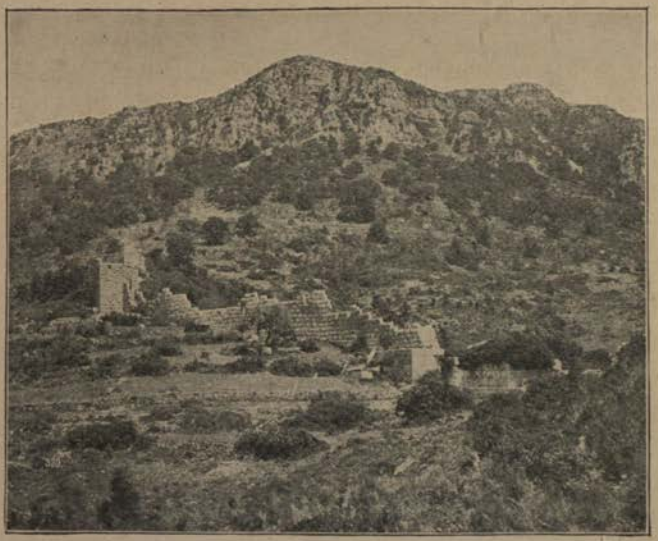

MOUNT ITHOME AND CITY WALL OF MESSENE

## CHAPTER XIV

### THEBES ATTEMPTS TO GAIN THE SUPREMACY (371-362 B.C.)—THE PROGRESS OF CULTURE

"AFTER these events, a messenger was despatched to Lacedæmon with news of the calamity. He reached his destination on the last day of the gymnopædiæ, just when the chorus of grown men had entered the theatre. The ephors heard the mournful tidings not without grief and pain, as needs they must, I take it; but for all that they did not dismiss the chorus, but allowed the contest to run out its natural course. What they did was to deliver the names of those who had fallen to their friends and families, with a word of warning to the women not to make any loud lamentation, but to bear their sorrow in silence; and the next

Sparta hears of her misfortune.

Xen. *Hell.* vi. 4.

day it was a striking spectacle to see those who had relations among the slain moving to and fro in public with bright and radiant looks, whilst of those whose friends were reported to be living, barely a man was to be seen, and these flitted by with lowered heads and scowling brows, as if in humiliation."

The law against runaways.

Spartan laws degraded runaways, and deprived them of citizenship and of all other honors; they had to go unwashed and meanly clad, with beards half shaven. Any one who met them in the street was at liberty to beat them and they dared not resist. On the present occasion Sparta had sent out seven hundred citizens, of whom three hundred had disgraced themselves by surviving defeat. What should be done with them? Being so numerous, they might resist punishment; and besides, as Sparta had only about fifteen hundred citizens remaining, to disfranchise three hundred would be ruinous. Agesilaus, who was requested by the government to settle this serious question, decided to let the law sleep in the present case, to be revived, however, for the future. In this way he piloted his country safely through the crisis.

Plut. *Agesilaus.*

Lacedæmon ruined.

The overthrow of the Lacedæmonian power in one battle was due to the small number of the Spartans. Rome easily recovered from the loss of seventy thousand men at Cannæ, because she had been liberal in bestowing the franchise upon aliens, whereas Lacedæmon, owing to her narrowness, was ruined by the loss of a thousand men, only four hundred of whom were Spartan citizens.

Anarchy in Peloponnese.

In Peloponnese the wildest confusion and anarchy arose. To the friends of Sparta it seemed that the world was falling into chaos, now that she had lost control, while her enemies rejoiced in the freedom assured them by her downfall. The first to profit by the revolution were the Arcadians, most of

whom were still shepherds and peasants living in villages, and following the Lacedæmonians in war. They now resolved to unite in a permanent league for the defence of their liberties. While the Mantineians were rebuilding their city, which Sparta had destroyed, the Arcadian state founded

P. 266.

VALLEY OF THE STYX IN ARCADIA

a new city, Megalopolis, to be the seat of government, and a stronghold against Lacedæmon. When the Arcadians fell into trouble among themselves, and were attacked by the Lacedæmonians, Epaminondas came to their help at the head of a great army consisting of Thebans, and their allies from Eubœa, Phocis, Locris, Acarnania, and Thessaly. The Argives, Eleians, and Arcadians joined him in Peloponnese, bringing the number of his troops up to seventy thousand men. With this great host he invaded Laconia, and ravaged it from end to end; for the first time in history, Spartan women saw the smoke from the camp-fires of an enemy. The city was in a tumult, — the old men were en-

The Thebans invade Peloponnese.

raged at the present condition of things, and the women in their terror caused more confusion than the invaders. Agesilaus, weighed down with age, saw the great power which he had inherited falling to pieces about him, conspiracies on every hand among high and low, the perioeci trooping off to join the enemy, the helots in rebellion, and himself reproached as the "kindler of the war." Still he applied himself with energy and courage to the sore task of defending his unwalled city.. Unable to capture Sparta,

Messenia. Epaminondas went to Messenia to aid the revolt of that country. With his help the Messenians built and fortified a new city, Messene, near the citadel of Mount Ithome, on

P. 154. a spot made sacred by many an heroic struggle for liberty. The city walls were well built, as may be seen from their ruins to-day. In this campaign, Epaminondas had defended the newly made Arcadian league, had restored the ancient state of Messenia, and had threatened the authority of Sparta even in Laconia. The imperial city, robbed of her supremacy and of half her territory, sank to the position of a second-rate power.

Athens joins Sparta. Athens, so far from taking part in reconstructing the states of Peloponnese, sympathized with Sparta, her foe for the past hundred years. "If danger were ever again to visit Hellas from the barbarian world outside," said a friend

Xen. *Hell.* vi, 5. of Sparta to the Athenian assembly, "in whom would you place your confidence if not in the Lacedæmonians? Whom would you choose to stand at your right hand in battle if not these, whose soldiers at Thermopylæ to a man preferred to fall at their posts rather than save their lives by giving the foreigner free passage into Hellas?" The words were ominous; the foreigners were soon to come, when the spirit of Lacedæmon was broken and her renown a faded

P. 155. memory, when Athens without her yoke-mate had to carry

the burden of Hellas. The Athenians were persuaded, and sent Iphicrates, their best general, to the help of the city which had not suffered them to be enslaved by Thebans and Corinthians after the day of Ægospotami. P. 237.

Defects in the policy of Thebes.

Within the next few years the Thebans extended their influence over Thessaly and Macedon. As the majority of the continental states were their allies, they were now the controlling power through the entire length of the peninsula. But the Thebans were no better qualified for ruling than the Spartans had been. Their chief fault was that they rested their system on the narrow basis of their own city. Instead of making all the Bœotians Thebans with full privileges in the leading city, they attempted to subject them to the condition of periœci; and some towns, as Thespiæ and Orchomenus, they even destroyed. As to their more remote allies, they had no thought of binding these to themselves by institutions such as hold the states of our nation together. Epaminondas erred greatly, too, in assuming that the peasants of Messenia and Arcadia, who were absolutely without political experience, would at once succeed in self-government under constitutions made for them by strangers. It was not thus that the Romans, the English, and the Americans became self-governing. The Thebans merely substituted chaos for order. Peloponnese, united under Lacedæmon, had been the citadel of Hellas, the centre of resistance to foreign aggression; and though Sparta was despotic, the Greek states had been learning of late to guard their liberties against her, while they still looked to her for protection and guidance in time of danger. All this was now changed. When Sparta had fallen because of the weakness of her system, Thebes, taking her place, broke up Peloponnese into warring camps, weakened the only power which was capable of defending Hellas, and spread confusion everywhere. Pp. 24, 27.

Thebes calls Persia in.

When it became apparent to the Thebans themselves that they were too weak to maintain order in Hellas, they sent Pelopidas as ambassador to Susa to bring the influence and money of the king to bear once more in favor of peace. Representatives of the other states of Greece joined in the negotiations. Artaxerxes readily agreed that the Hellenic cities should all be independent and that Athens should disband her fleet; but the Athenian ambassador, Leon, informed the king emphatically that his state would not listen to the latter proposition: "Upon my word! Athenians," he exclaimed, "it strikes me that it is high time you looked for some other friend than the great king." The Arcadian ambassador conceived the utmost contempt for the sovereign of Asia: "The king," he reported to his countrymen on his return, "appears to have a large army of confectioners and pastry-cooks, butlers and doorkeepers, but no men capable of doing battle with the Greeks. Besides all which, even the report of his wealth is bombastic nonsense. Why, the golden plane tree so much belauded is not big enough to furnish shade to a single grasshopper."

Xen. *Hell.* vii, 1.

Epaminondas as admiral.

The Greeks were opening their eyes to the weakness of Persia; and when Thebes went through the farce of calling a general Hellenic convention, in imitation of that of Antalcidas, the deputies refused to be either deceived or intimidated by the presence of a Persian satrap carrying the document of peace under the king's seal; nor would the states which they represented bind themselves under oath to obey the foreign potentate. As the disgraceful play ended in failure, Epaminondas turned resolutely to the disagreeable and almost hopeless task of reducing Greece to order by force of iron. The chief resistance to his designs came from Athens and Sparta. The maritime city he must meet on her own element, as she had refused to dismantle

her fleet at the command of Persia. Bœotia, though as well supplied as Attica with coast-lines, had little commerce and no fleet to speak of before Epaminondas. But suddenly his state became a naval power, the great tactician stepped into the place of admiral, and an armament went forth to sweep Athens from the sea. Could Epaminondas have been free a year or two to carry on his naval operations, he might by overthrowing Athens have introduced as much confusion into the Ægean as he had brought to Peloponnese by the ruin of Lacedæmon.

His last invasion of Peloponnese.

But Epaminondas had no time for this. All Peloponnese had long been in a ferment; the states were jumbled together in hopeless confusion, and their relations with each other were now as changing as the colors of a kaleidoscope. To write the history of interstate politics in this period seems like attempting to set the noises of Pandemonium to music. Epaminondas again marched across the Isthmus to restore order. Allies from Eubœa and Thessaly joined him; the Phocians refused to take part in his aggressive wars; the more westerly allies were apparently not summoned. The Argives, Messenians, and southern Arcadians added their forces to his in the Peloponnese. Athens, Sparta, Achæa, and northern Arcadia were his chief enemies. The Theban commander attempted by forced marches to capture Sparta, then Mantineia, in the hope that he might thus accomplish his object without a battle; but in both attempts he failed.

The battle of Mantineia, 362 B.C.

Then came the conflict at Mantineia. Notwithstanding their tedious journeys, the condition of his troops was excellent; they were full of enthusiasm and had absolute confidence in their commander. "There was no labor which they would shrink from, either by night or by day; there was no danger they would flinch from; and, with the scantiest provisions, their discipline never failed them. And

Xen. *Hell.* vii, 5.

so, when he gave them his last orders to prepare for impending battle, they obeyed with alacrity. He spoke the word; the cavalry fell to whitening their helmets, the heavy infantry of the Arcadians began inscribing the club (of Heracles) as a crest on their shields, in imitation of the Thebans, and all were engaged in sharpening their lances and swords and in polishing their heavy shields."

End of Epaminondas and of Theban leadership.

Taking the enemy by surprise, Epaminondas repeated the tactics of Leuctra with perfect success. His flying column, now in the form of a wedge, cut through the opposing ranks and shattered the enemy's host. But the great commander in the front fell mortally wounded with a javelin. Carried to the rear, he heard the victorious shouts of the Thebans, but when told that his fellow-generals were both dead, he advised his countrymen to make peace. The surgeon then drew out the javelin point and Epaminondas died. Pelopidas had recently been slain in battle in Thessaly. The heroes were buried where they fell; and their gravestones in northern and southern Greece stood as monuments of Theban leadership, which ended with their lives.

The two friends.

Pelopidas was bold and chivalrous; a zealous patriot and an able commander. Epaminondas was a great military genius. Personally he was without ambition, content to live as a private citizen, or to serve his state in the lowest offices. Absolutely pure in character, he aimed only to promote the welfare of his city and of Hellas. Though in statesmanship he was as able as any of his time, though his ideals were high and his methods honorable, he failed to discover the evils of the Hellenic state system, much more to remedy them. Fortune was kind to him and to his worthy helper in cutting them off at the height of their renown, — before they could see the failure of their policy and be made responsible for it.

GREECE
AFTER THE
BATTLE
OF MANTINEIA
Athens and allied states
Thebes and allied states
Corinth and allied states
Sparta and allied states
ILLYRIS
PAEONIA
THRACE
MACEDON
EPEIRUS
THESSALY
AETHALIA
ACHAEA
ELIS
ARCADIA
ATTICA
BOEOTIA
PHOCIS
LOCRIS
CORCYR
LEUCAS
CEPHALLENIA
ZACYNTHUS
IONIAN SEA
THRACIAN SEA
AEGEAN SEA
KINGDOM OF CERSOBLEPTES
PROPONTIS
Byzantium
Calcedon
THASOS
LEMNOS
TENEDOS
Hellespont
MT. IDA
SATRAPY OF DASCYLEIUM
MT. OLYMPUS
MT. PINDUS
MYSIA
LESBOS
SCYROS
CHIOS
SATRAPY OF SARDIS
Hermus R.
Ephesus
Maeander R.
SAMOS
ICAROS
TENOS
ANDROS
SATRAPY OF MAUSOLUS
Miletus
Halicarnassus
COS
RHODES
Sparta
Argolic Gulf
Messenian Gulf
Laconian Gulf
Troezene
Aegina
Eleusis
Athens
Thebes
Corinth
Sicyon
Pellene
Olympia
Potidaea
Olynthus
Methone
Pydna
Aegae
Pella
Larissa
Pharsalus
Pherae
Magnesia
Ambracia
Naupactus
Locris
Delphi
Phocis
Thermopylae
Lyncestis
Strymon R.
Haliacmon R.
Peneus R.
Achelous R.
Arachthus R.
Acheloüs R.
Evenus R.
Aous R.
Nestus R.
Hebrus R.
Caystrus R.
Lycormas R.
Eurotas R.
Alpheus R.
Pamisus R.
Nedon R.
Cephissus R.
Asopus R.
Inachus R.
Erasinus R.
Lerna
Mycenae
Argos
Tiryns
Nemea
Phlius
Megalopolis
Messene
Leuctra
Mantinea
Tegea
Orchomenus
Lepreum
Elis
Olympia
Methone
Pylus
Cyllene
Naxos
Paros
Melos
Thera
Crete
Cyprus
Rhodes
Cos
Halicarnassus
Miletus
Ephesus
Sardis
Hermus R.
Maeander R.
Mt. Olympus
Mt. Pindus
Mt. Ida
Hellespont
Byzantium
Calcedon
Thasos
Lemnos
Tenedos
Lesbos
Scyros
Chios
Icaros
Samos
Andros
Tenos
Naxos
Paros
Melos
Thera
Crete
Cyprus
Rhodes
Cos
Halicarnassus
Miletus
Ephesus
Sardis
Hermus R.
Maeander R.
Mt. Olympus
Mt. Pindus
Mt. Ida
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The result of the battle of Mantineia was the opposite of that which the world expected. "Here where well-nigh the whole of Hellas was met together in one field, and the combatants stood rank against rank confronted, there was no one who doubted that, in the event of battle, the conquerors this day would rule, and those who lost would be their subjects. But God so ordered it that both belligerents alike set up trophies claiming victory, and neither interfered with the other in the act. Both parties alike gave back their enemy's dead under a truce, and in right of victory; both alike, in symbol of defeat, under a truce took back their dead. And though both claimed to have won the day, neither could show that he had gained thereby any accession of territory, or state, or empire, or was better situated than before the battle. Uncertainty and confusion indeed had

Results of the battle.

Xen. *Hell.* vii, 5.

BATTLE BETWEEN THE GREEKS AND THE AMAZONS
(Frieze of the Mausoleium, Halicarnassus.)

gained ground, being tenfold greater throughout the length and breadth of Hellas after the battle than before." The conflict put an end to the idea of a city supremacy over Hellas.

The progress of culture.

We shall now turn from the politics of the age to follow the development of culture through the first half of the fourth century B.C.

Among the countries of central Greece, Bœotia had always stood next to Attica in civilization: she had had her poets, her orators, her philosophers, and her schools of art; under Epaminondas there was a bloom of culture corresponding somewhat to that at Athens in the Age of Pericles. The overthrow of the Athenian and the Spartan powers and the rise of Thebes — the breaking down of traditional barriers and the constant shifting in the relations between the states — contributed greatly to the development and spread of culture. "States learned to pass from one alliance to another, according as the balance of power required it, and became friends of their previous enemies. Embassies went from city to city, and learned to know that their neighbors were better at home than they had imagined."

Mahaffy, *Survey of Greek Civilization*, p. 175.

Athens leads.

P. 222.

Though all Greece was progressing in culture and in humanity, Athens, after the loss of her political leadership, came more and more to be the recognized moral and intellectual head. To the Athenians the result of the Peloponnesian War was a disappointment from which they never recovered. To the very end of the struggle they had enthusiastically sacrificed property and lives to secure for their city the leadership of Hellas; but as their patriotic efforts had proved fruitless, each citizen now began to seek happiness not in the greatness of the state as formerly, but in business prosperity and in social and private life. The unfortunate issue of the war checked the progress of centralization, that is, the strengthening of the state at the expense of the citizens, and set up a tendency towards the development of the individual.

The spirit of Athens in the fourth century B.C. is em-

bodied in the work of her sculptor, Cephisodotus, entitled Eirene and Plutus, — "the goddess Peace nursing the infant Wealth." Renouncing her ambition to rule Greece, Athens devoted herself in peace to the production of wealth and of

"Peace nursing Wealth." E. A. Gardner, p. 352.

EIRENE AND PLUTUS
(After Cephisodotus. Munich.)

culture in the interest of her citizens. Her efforts met with success; while but few men became very wealthy, the peasant class was never more numerous or more prosperous than in

this period. A healthy, happy spirit pervaded country life, — a spirit, however, which we do not find in the industries because these were carried on by slaves.

Literature.

The literature of the age reflects the changed character of the people. It was on the whole less imaginative, less grand, less forceful, than that of the preceding century, but more reflective and humane, with greater breadth of intelligence and sympathy.

From poetry to prose.

The first thing we notice in passing from the literature of the fifth century B.C. to that of the fourth is the change from poetry to prose. Purely Greek poetry was composed to be sung or recited in some sort of gathering, — in the court of king or noble, in a group of friends at a feast, or in the theatre before the whole body of citizens. This kind of poetry, after running through the three stages of epic, personal or lyric, and dramatic, came to an end with Euripides towards the close of the Peloponnesian War; and the poetry thereafter written was, like the modern, intended chiefly for reading at home. Comedy, which is half poetry, half prose, formed an exception to the rule. Forsaking politics and leaving out the chorus, the chief religious element of the drama, it devoted itself to the treatment of manners, morals, and private character; and thus, by accommodating itself to the changed conditions, it survived to give instruction and amusement to the people of a new age.

P. 220 ff.

Learning to reflect.

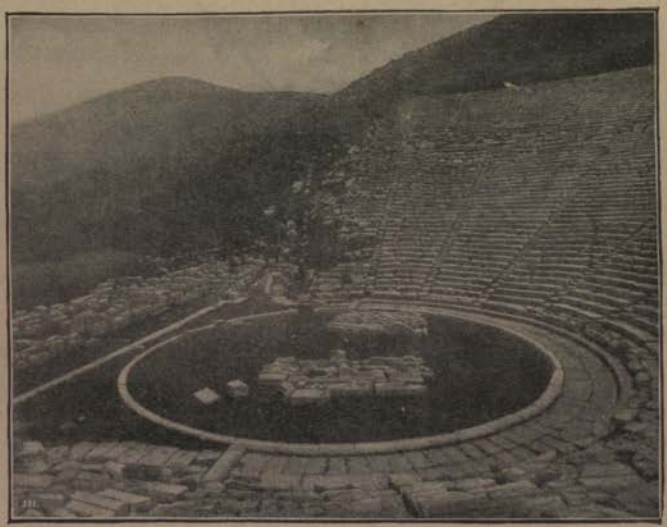
The change from poetry to prose indicates an increasing ability to reflect. While the fifth century is represented by only three prominent prose writers, Herodotus, Thucydides, and Antiphon, the fourth century is the great age of prose. There were three departments of Greek prose literature: history, philosophy, and oratory.

Extant history is represented in this century chiefly by

Xenophon, an Athenian, who got his education in the school of Socrates and then went with Cyrus on his famous Asiatic expedition. After returning with the Ten Thousand and serving for a time under Agesilaus in Asia Minor, he retired to private life in Elis on an estate given him by the Lacedæmonian government. Banished from Athens on account of his connection with Cyrus and with Agesilaus, he spent the remainder of his life here in hunting and in writing. His

History—Xenophon.

P. 261 f.



THEATRE AT EPIDAURUS

*Memoirs of Socrates* gives us the character and sayings of that philosopher from the standpoint of the plain, blunt, practical man who could not appreciate the depths of his master's teachings. His *Hellenica*, a continuation of the history of Thucydides, covers the period from 410 B.C. to the battle of Mantineia, written from the Spartan point of view. Though a shallow, partisan narrative, it is our only

continuous story of the period treated, and hence is very valuable. He wrote on a variety of other subjects, as hunting, housekeeping, the Athenian revenues, and the Lacedæmonian constitution. His works are indeed a storehouse of knowledge of the times in which he lived; and the author, though neither philosopher nor statesman, shared in the humanity and in the breadth of sympathy of his age.

Oratory.

While historical writing declined from Thucydides to Xenophon, there was a corresponding improvement in oratory. Rhetoric had come to be a part of every man's education, so that most Athenians could appreciate a good speech or even plead their own cases in court.

Aristoph. *Knights*, 347 ff.

You've made your pretty speech perhaps, and gained a little lawsuit
Against a merchant foreigner, by dint of water-drinking,
And lying long o' nights, composing and repeating,
And studying as you walked the streets, and wearing out the patience
Of all your friends and intimates, with practising beforehand:
And now you wonder at yourself elated and delighted
At your own talent for debate — you silly, saucy coxcomb.

There was, strictly speaking, no lawyer class at Athens, because the laws were so simple that every one could understand them; but the oration which the private citizen committed to memory and delivered in the law court was usually composed for him by a professional speech-writer.

Lysias, about 450–380 B.C.

The most eminent of this class in the early part of the fourth century B.C. was Lysias, an alien, whose father, Cephalus, had come from Syracuse to reside in Peiræus and had established a large shield factory there.[1] Robbed of his fortune by the

P. 253.

Thirty, Lysias turned to speech-writing as a profession.

[1] For an interesting picture of this family, see the opening scene of Plato's *Republic*.

His *Oration against Eratosthenes*, in which he prosecuted this member of the Thirty for the murder of his brother, marks an epoch in the history of literature; in it the author, disdaining the austere, dignified language of Antiphon, recurred to the simple vigorous speech of every-day life. This he developed into an artistic style in which, however, he carefully concealed his art. The principle that the language of oratory should be the idealized speech of actual life controlled him in the rest of his writings and exercised a great influence on all prose literature after him. More than thirty of his orations have come down to us; they serve at once as models of the purest and simplest prose and as a means of direct contact with public and private life of the author's time.

P. 230.

Isocrates, 436–338 B.C.

APHRODITE OF CNIDUS

(After Praxiteles. Pitti Palace, Florence.)

Lysias, though not a statesman, longed to see Hellas united against her two great enemies, the tyrant Dionysius I of Syracuse and the Persian king. His younger contemporary, Isocrates, also an orator, — "the old man eloquent," — was to be the great apostle of Hellenic unity. A history of the life and times of this long-lived man would cover the entire period from the Age of Pericles to the

P. 244.

Milton, *Sonnet* x.

overthrow of Hellenic freedom, and would include the whole development of Greek prose from Herodotus to Demosthenes. He was one of the best educated Athenians: Socrates as teacher in philosophy, Gorgias as trainer in rhetoric, association personally or by letter with nearly all of the eminent Greeks of his day, combined with his own zeal for knowledge to give him a greater breadth of intelligence and of sympathy than perhaps any other man of his time possessed. He opened a school, first at Chios and then at Athens, in which young men could gain a well-rounded education and at the same time prepare themselves for life, especially for statesmanship.

Inventor of the period.

While teaching, Isocrates wrote orations, which, as they were to be read rather than delivered, should properly be termed essays. His literary style lacked freshness and vigor, but was the perfection of art; his language was melodious, his words were chosen with the finest sense of the appropriate and arranged with the most delicate taste. He was the inventor of the period, — the perfectly rounded thought expressed in a symmetrical sentence. Through his influence on Cicero he has determined the course of development of European literature to the present day.

His political mission.

His political mission was not to electrify the Greeks, as their public life had long been feverish, but rather to lull them into forgetfulness of their mutual jealousies. He believed that nothing would conduce so much to national unity as a common war against Persia. This was the theme of the *Panegyricus*, a masterpiece on which he is said to have labored ten years. Such teachings had their influence, but the result aimed at was not accomplished till the orators had given way to the men of action.

By far the ablest thinker and writer of the age was Plato,

the most eminent of the disciples of Socrates. After the death of his master he travelled to various parts of Greece and even to Egypt. In Italy he studied the doctrines of Pythagoras; his connection with the tyrants of Syracuse has already been mentioned. On his return to Athens he began teaching in the Academy, which gave its name to his school. Plato is chiefly noted for his theory of *ideas*, — a term which he brought into philosophy. According to his view, ideas are the only realities; they are eternal and unchangeable, and exist only in heaven; the things which we see in this world are only shadows of those heavenly forms. One is inclined to call Plato a theologian primarily, as he has so much to say of God, heaven, and the future life. With his brilliant imagination, too, he was as much a poet as a philosopher.

Philosophy—Plato, 427–347 B.C.

P. 244 f.

Pp. 73, 157.

SATYR OF PRAXITELES
(Capitoline Museum, Rome. The "Marble Faun" of Hawthorne.)

While engaged in teaching, Plato composed his *Dialogues*, which in conversational form set forth his philosophic views. Socrates, the principal speaker, is not the historical Socrates, but rather the author's own mouthpiece. The language is a happy blending of prose form with the spirit of poetry.

The ideal state.

Dramatic in the accurate and vivid expression of character, beautiful and vital, it reflects the mind of a master whose range of thought and fancy seems limitless. The greatest of his *Dialogues* is the *Republic*, a discussion of the ideal state. Plato thought there should be three classes in the state: the philosophers, who should rule, as the Pythagoreans of lower Italy; the warriors, who should guard the state, as the Spartans in Lacedæmon; and the common people, who by their labor should support the higher classes. This would have been a caste system like that of India. Plato believed, too, that there should be no family or private property, because these institutions fostered selfishness. Though his ideal state was neither practicable nor on the whole good, one can hardly read the *Republic* without being lifted by it to a higher moral plane. The author insisted that justice should rule, that the state itself was justice "writ large." As to the nation of Hellenes, he taught that they should live together as members of one family; they should not injure one another by devastating fields, burning houses, and enslaving captives. In general it may be said that Plato's teachings were pure and ennobling: "My counsel is that we hold fast ever to the heavenly way and follow justice and virtue always, considering that the soul is immortal and able to endure every sort of good and every sort of evil. Thus we shall live dear to one another and to the gods, both while remaining here and when, like conquerors in the games who go round to gather gifts, we receive our reward. And it shall be well with us both in this life and in the pilgrimage of a thousand years which we have been describing."

Pp. 95, 143.

P. 57.

Plato, *Republic*, 621 (end).

Art.

Although the great writers of this age were all Athenians, and though there were perhaps as many eminent Athenian artists now as in any previous age, art flourished more in other parts of Greece, especially in Asia Minor. The tem-

porary decline of Athens was owing chiefly to the fact that, impoverished by the Peloponnesian War, she had little money to spend on architecture and sculpture. Even Sparta had the advantage of her in this respect.

*Cf.* p. 284 f.

In addition to their many new temples, the Greeks began to build splendid stone theatres far superior to those of the preceding century. Every city now aimed to have a theatre large enough, if possible, to seat the whole body of citizens. One of the most beautiful and best preserved is that at Epidaurus. Although the temple and the theatre were public, art was coming more into the service of individuals. The wealthier class began to build large, comfortable residences and to adorn the walls with paintings. This improvement accords with the spirit of the age which sought the happiness of the individual. Following this tendency, the sculptor strove for the first time to express the emotions. Among the most successful was Scopas of Paros, the land of marble. The head of Meleager, a mythical Ætolian hero, believed to be from his hand, shows a "fiery eagerness of temper," for which his work is noted.

Theatres.

P. 287.

Art serves the individual.

MELEAGER

(After Scopas. Catajo.)

Scopas.

The Mausoleium, 350 B.C.

At Halicarnassus, Scopas with other famous artists of his time decorated the Mausoleium, — tomb of Mausolus, king of Caria. This work illustrates the value of archæology to

P. 4 ff.

the student of history. From the Mycenæan Age to the fourth century B.C. neither palaces nor magnificent tombs were built in Greece, for no one stood so high above his fellows as to require a distinguished abode either in this life or after death. The reappearance of such works indicates the return of monarchy, which, arising on the borders of Hellas, — as in Caria, in Epeirus, and in Macedon, —

P. 310.

extended itself before the close of the century over all eastern Greece.

Praxiteles.

Of Athenian artists, Cephisodotus has already been men-

P. 285.

tioned. Praxiteles, a kinsman of his, probably a son, was next to Pheidias the most famous sculptor of Greece. His

P. 289.

Aphrodite of Cnidus, known to us only through copies, is said to have been his most beautiful work. The gods in the art of the fourth century B.C., having lost much of the dignity of the Pheidian type, seem little different from men and women; though we admire their beauty, they do not inspire us with awe. Another work deserves mention because of its literary interest. In the Capitoline Museum at Rome is a copy of a satyr by Praxiteles, which Hawthorne

Hawthorne, *Marble Faun*, I, ch. i.

has described in his *Marble Faun:* "The whole statue, unlike anything else that ever was wrought in that severe material of marble, conveys the idea of an amiable and

P. 291.

sensual creature — easy, mirthful, apt for jollity, yet not incapable of being touched with pathos." But the most

His Hermes.

notable statue now in existence is his Hermes, discovered in 1877 in the ruins of the temple of Hera at Olympia. Gardner calls attention to its "marvellous combination of

E. A. Gardner, p. 358 f.

strength and virility of type with softness and delicacy of modelling and with that subtle play of surface in marble,

which has already distinguished the Attic school, but awaited the hand of Praxiteles to bring it to a perfection which has never been attained before or since." With all the delicacy

THE HERMES OF PRAXITELES

(Olympia.)

and grace, it has none of the weakness and effeminacy, of the Apollo Belvedere. The Hermes of Praxiteles is the ideal Greek of the fourth century B.C.

P. 100.

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# CHAPTER XV

## THE RISE OF MACEDON (TO 338 B.C.)

Spread of civilization over Greece.

WE have learned that the coast and island cities of Greece were the first to become civilized. The doings of Argos and Lacedæmon, of Athens and her maritime allies, of Syracuse and the other Western colonies, fill the pages of Greek history to the end of the Peloponnesian War. But in the fourth century B.C. the races of the interior and the north of the continent begin to claim their share of attention. Thessaly, Epeirus, and Macedon were learning of the poets and philosophers who visited them the ideas and mode of life of the more advanced Greeks, and were in turn to bring into the Hellenic state system, fresh energy and new institutions.

Old city-states and new territorial states.

The city-state had produced splendid types of civilization; it had assured the citizens a higher degree of freedom and larger opportunities for education than has been possible under any other form of government; but because of the inability of the cities to join in a larger political union, it had failed to protect itself against foreign enemies. In the less civilized parts of Greece, people still lived mostly in country tribes and were not so prejudiced as city folk against combining in large territorial states, such as those of modern times. It was inevitable, therefore, that the new country-states through youthful vigor and greater size should gain the mastery over the old city-states, which had far smaller areas and were rapidly growing unwarlike.

First Thessaly gave promise of winning the leadership of

Jason of Pheræ.

Greece. Jason, tyrant of Pheræ, by force and diplomacy united the four great tribes of Thessaly under himself as captain-general. He was one of the ablest men whom we have yet met in Greek history, "stout of limb and robust of body," a prodigious toiler; like Napoleon he worked while others ate and slept, making night of equal service with the day, and applying his resourceful mind to building up a great political and military power. It was his intention to make himself lord of Hellas and then conquer Persia.

Xen. *Hell.* vi, 1.

370 B.C.

As a step towards his object he prepared to display his wealth and strength to the eyes of Greece at the Pythian games; he would attend with an army and bring an offering to the god which would astonish his contemporaries, — a thousand beeves and ten thousand sheep, goats, and swine. Perhaps he planned to preside at the games and persuade the Amphictyonic Council to recognize him as captain of the forces of Hellas in a national war against Persia. As he was reviewing his troops before setting out to Delphi, seven young men ran to him disputing hotly, as it seemed, about some matter which they wanted him to settle; but while he was listening to the case, they stabbed him with their daggers, gashing his throat and goring his body. The guard, coming to the rescue, killed two of the assassins; the others escaped and were honored for the deed by the Hellenic cities in which they took refuge. His successors were unable to maintain their authority; and Thessaly, weakened by disunion and anarchy, fell under the influence first of Thebes, and afterwards of Macedon. It was the mission of the latter country to weld eastern Hellas into a nation.

P. 99 f.

Xen. *Hell.* vi, 4.

Macedon.

Curtius, i, p. 15; v, p. 16 ff.; Holm, III, ch. xiv.

Macedon is the basin of a river system, whose waters after running in their upper course through broad plains, separated by high mountains, flow together in three parallel streams to the sea. It is somewhat like a hand with radi-

ating fingers reaching from the coast into the continent. The country was made up accordingly of two distinct regions: the Highland, including the mountains and plains of the interior; and the Lowland, nearer to the sea.

The Macedonians.

Dense forest nearly covered the Highland, even as late as the fourth century B.C. The sparse population lived in hovels, dressed in skins, and fed their few sheep on the mountain sides, for which they had to fight with ill-success against their neighbors. Their habits were warlike: the youth could not sit at table with the men till he had killed a wild boar, and he who had slain no foe must wear a rope about his body as a sign that he was not yet free. They ate from wooden dishes; they fought with the rudest weapons; poverty and exposure were toughening them into excellent material for soldiers.

Arrian, vii, 9.

Arist. *Politics*, vii, 2, 11.

Philip. P. 13 ff.

In each separate valley dwelt a tribe under the rule of king and nobles, as it had been in the Greece of Homer's day. The Macedonians were indeed Greeks who had not yet emerged from barbarism. The Lowlanders, however, through contact with the Hellenic colonies along their coast, were making rapid progress in culture. Their King Amyntas, by adopting the military organization and the armor of the civilized Greeks, compelled the Highlanders to acknowledge him as their king. Two years after the battle of Leuctra, Amyntas died, leaving three sons, — Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip. Alexander, who succeeded to the throne, was murdered by his mother; Pelopidas soon afterwards interfered in Macedon, placed a regent over the young King Perdiccas, and carried away Philip, then a youth of fifteen, as hostage. This visit of Philip to Thebes was in its effect like that of Peter the Great to Holland and England. Thebes was then at the height of her glory: her generals and her army were the best in

P. 273.

the world; her schools, streets, market-place, and assembly thronged with busy life; her arsenals sounded continually with preparations for war. The royal youth came a half-barbarian, with a voracious appetite for learning everything which would be useful to his country; he returned a civilized Greek, with an ambition to be the maker of a nation.

His ambitious policy.

359 B.C.

Soon afterwards Perdiccas fell, sword in hand, fighting against the rebellious Highlanders, who were aided by the Illyrians; and Philip mounted the throne, beset on all sides with difficulties and dangers.

Within the next two years he had proved his right to rule by overcoming his domestic foes, defeating his hostile neighbors, and seating himself firmly in power: it became evident at once that the king of Macedon, instead of standing on the defensive, as his forefathers had done, intended to enlarge his kingdom by subduing the surrounding states. First he wished to annex the coast cities that he might have free access to the sea. Some of these cities were allies of Athens, the great power of the Ægean, and others belonged to the Chalcidic Federation, restored after its overthrow by the Peloponnesians. He lured the Chalcidians into alliance, till, by outwitting the Athenians, he had robbed them of their cities on his coast, and had taken Amphipolis, the most flourishing commercial city in the neighborhood. Though in these proceedings he practised the grossest deception, it must be said in his favor that he treated his new subjects with the utmost fairness, granting them more municipal rights than the native Macedonians enjoyed.

P. 266 ff.

War between Athens and Philip, 357–346 B.C.

The Athenians in anger broke the peace with him in 357 B.C., but could effect nothing because they were engaged at the same time in a Social War,—that is, a war with some of their allies who had revolted. Athens indeed showed

great weakness through this period in all her dealings with other states, as so many of her citizens were opposed to an aggressive foreign policy. She failed in the Social War, and ended it by granting independence to the seceding states, Chios, Cos, Rhodes, and Byzantium. Other allies deserted till only Eubœa and a few small islands were left, whose war contributions amounted to no more than forty-five talents a year. Philip, on the other hand, acquired enormous revenues by seizing Mount Pangæus and working its gold mines. These yielded him a thousand talents a year. With the money from this source he was enabled to keep up a standing army, build a fleet from the timber of the forests about Pangæus, and purchase helpers in nearly every city of Greece. Though ready to corrupt and to deceive enemies and neutrals, he was faithful to his friends.

The Social War, 357–355 B.C.

Holm, III, ch. xv.

Philip next began a struggle with Phocis for the possession of Thessaly. The Phocians were one of the fresh races of Greece, whose martial strength and ardor had not yet been softened by commerce and city life. As they refused to submit to Thebes, the latter persuaded the Amphictyonic Council to declare a sacred war upon them on a fictitious charge of impiety towards Apollo. To pay the expenses of the war, the Phocian commanders borrowed large sums of money from the Delphic treasury, a perfectly honorable transaction, as Delphi was a Phocian city and the war was in self-defence; yet the enemies of the little state cried out hypocritically against this still more impious crime against the god. Onomarchus, who by his ability had risen to the chief command in Phocis, brought together by means of this money a great army of mercenaries, with which he overran Locris, Doris, and Bœotia, seized the pass of Thermopylæ, defeated Philip

The Sacred War, 356–346 B.C.

Curtius, v, p. 68 ff.; Holm, III, ch. xvi.

P. 101.

353 B.C.

twice in Thessaly, and drove him back to Macedon. For a time it seemed that the Phocians were to become the leading state in Hellas; but as their power depended chiefly on mercenaries, the exhaustion of the Delphic treasury would soon bring it to an end. Athens and Lacedæmon gave Phocis little more than their moral support against Thebes, while the unfortunate campaign of Philip merely spurred him to greater exertions. In the following year he reappeared with an army in Thessaly, defeated
352 B.C. Onomarchus, and drove the Phocians behind Thermopylæ. Their commander was killed by his own men in the flight, and Philip in an outburst of barbarism ordered the body to be nailed to a cross. Only the timely arrival of an Athenian force prevented the victorious king from passing through Thermopylæ into central Greece. However, all Thessaly was now his, and immediately afterwards he conquered Thrace nearly to the Hellespont.

Philip and Chalcidice.

The Chalcidians, who up to this time had been in alliance with Philip, and who had looked upon him in the beginning as an insignificant prince, now became alarmed at the marvellous growth of his power. Suddenly discovering

Curtius, v, p. 284 ff.; Holm, III, ch. xvii.

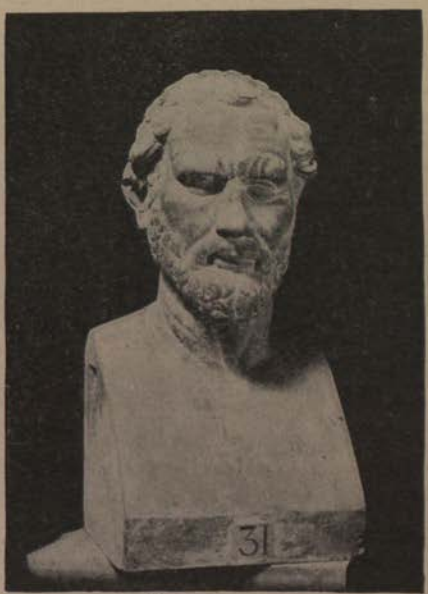
that they were in league with a most dangerous enemy against a state which had common interests with their own, they made peace with Athens in violation of their agree-
352-349 B.C. ment with Philip. The crafty king let three years slip quietly by, during which he won over to himself by threats and bribes a considerable party in every Chalcidic town; then, when fully prepared for war, he ordered Olynthus to give up his step-brother, who had taken refuge from him in that city. As Greeks considered it a religious duty to harbor exiles, and an act of high-handed presumption to demand their surrender, Olynthus refused, and sent at the same time an appeal to Athens for help. Among the

speakers in the Athenian assembly when this subject came up for consideration was the man who was to be known through future ages as the antagonist of Philip, — Demosthenes, the most eminent orator the world has known.

Demosthenes.

Demosthenes was only seven years old when his father, a wealthy Athenian manufacturer, died, and the guardians so mismanaged the estate that little of it was left when he became a man. Young Demosthenes was a slender, sallow boy, who, instead of joining with comrades in the sports of the gymnasium, remained at home with his mother, nursing his wrath against the unfaithful guardians till it became the ruling passion of his youth. To prepare himself for prosecuting them he took training under Isæus, a master of legal oratory who was especially successful in cases of inheritance. It is said, too, that even in youth he resolved to become a statesman; but his voice was defective, his body weak and awkward, his habits unsocial, — his whole nature unfitted for such a calling. Strength of soul, however, made up for personal disadvantages. He trained his voice and delivery under a successful actor;

Plutarch, *Demosthenes;* Demosthenes, *Orations.*



DEMOSTHENES
(Capitoline Museum, Rome.)

His oratory.

P. 289 f. P. 226 f. he studied Isocrates, the great master of prose; he steeped his mind in Thucydides, from whom he formed an ideal of greatness for his state; he steeled his will and so exercised his mental muscles that they became capable of the highest and most prolonged tension. In time he developed the most varied character: we find in his oratory the grand ideas and the terrific force of an Æschylus, the simplicity of a Lysias, the grace and flexibility of the most accomplished rhetorician, and the religious fervor of a prophet. In a word, Demosthenes became, with the possible exception of Plato, the greatest master of Greek prose. Success in his prosecution of the guardians led him to speech-writing as a profession, from which he gradually made his way into public life.

Pp. 159 ff., 288 f.

His opposition to Macedon.

He was the first to foresee the danger to Hellenic freedom from Philip, and lost no time or zeal in warning Athens to meet it while still far off. He had already entered upon his lifelong opposition to Macedon in an oration styled his *First Philippic*, and now on the arrival of envoys from Olynthus he urged the Athenians to embrace this heaven-sent opportunity of alliance with Philip's new foe. Give prompt and vigorous assistance, use your surplus revenues for war rather than festivals; do not be content with sending mercenaries, but take the field yourselves against Philip, and you will certainly defeat him, for his strength is derived from your weak policy, his power is based on injustice, and all his subjects will revolt, if only you give them a little encouragement and support. Such were the sentiments of his *Olynthiac Orations*. He tried to inspire his countrymen with the life and ambition of their fathers, who had beaten down Persia and had founded an empire; yet his words had little effect, as he was still a young man and almost unknown. The Athenians made the alliance, but

*First Philippic*, 351 B.C. Three *Olynthiac Orations*, 349–348 B.C.

would not exert themselves to give the needed help; so that Philip before the end of the following year had taken Olynthus and the thirty other cities of the federation. Some surrendered, others were betrayed into his hands. He then destroyed all the Chalcidic cities and enslaved the entire population. Hellas was indeed punished for the disunion of her states, but this does not justify Philip. The act was unnecessarily severe; the cruelty and violence of all the Greek tyrants combined scarcely equalled in enormity this one deed of the Macedonian king. There could now be no doubt that Philip was dangerous. He ruled supreme in Macedon, Thessaly, Chalcidice, and in the greater part of Thrace; he had his hirelings among the leading men of the Hellenic cities. Philip was a self-made man. Like Jason of Pheræ, he was an incessant toiler who spared not his own person, but "in his struggle for power and empire had an eye cut out, his collar-bone fractured, a hand and leg mutilated, and was willing to sacrifice any part of his body which fortune chose to take, provided he could live with the remainder in honor and glory." The body served a masterful intellect; few men have equalled him in quickness of thought and in soundness of judgment. His influence, unlike that of Jason, lived after him through the institutions which he created.

Fall of Chalcidice, 348 B.C.

Character of Philip.

Demosth. *De Corona*, 67.

His greatest institution was the Macedonian army. The rough Highland huntsmen and the peasants of the Plain, organized in local regiments, composed his phalanx. Learning a lesson from Iphicrates, he gave them lighter defensive armor than that of the Greek hoplite and increased the length of their spear. Thus they could move more rapidly, and in conflict with any enemy their lances were first to draw blood. The nobles served in the cavalry as "companions" of the king; the light-armed troops composed

The Macedonian army. Hogarth, p. 49 ff.

P. 264 f.

The making of a nation.

his guard; the sons of nobles were royal pages, associating with the king and protecting his person. Gradually, as military pride, the glory of success, and most of all the magnetism of a great commander welded this mass of men into an organic whole, Philip, and after him Alexander, proceeded to wipe out distinctions of locality and of social rank, making every man's place depend upon his own merit and the favor of the general. Thus the military organization not only civilized the Macedonians by subjecting them to discipline, but it also destroyed their clannishness and made of them one nation with common interests, sentiments, and hopes. And Philip's country was not so exclusive as the Hellenic cities had always been; rather, like Rome, it readily admitted strangers to citizenship and in this way showed a capacity for indefinite growth in population and in area. Macedon was already far larger than any other Greek state; its army was better organized; its troops were superior; its king possessed a genius for war and for diplomacy, — hence it was that Philip easily gained the supremacy over Greece.

Pp. 21, 267.

Peace of Philocrates, 346 B.C.

Athens, unable to stir Hellas to a national war against Philip, offered him peace. Philocrates moved the resolution and Demosthenes and his friends supported it. Philip had always been willing to treat with the Athenians, for he had not the means of opposing them on the sea and could hardly expect to reduce their strong fortifications by siege; besides this, why should he try to destroy a power which he hoped to win over to his alliance? He would need their navy as well as their moral support in the war with Persia which he was already planning. The treaty signed in 346 B.C. included the allies of both parties with the exception of the Phocians, whom Philip reserved for punishment. "The pious task of vindicating Apollo" was, however, mere hypoc-

Grote, xi, p. 390 ff.; Holm, III, ch. xvii.

risy: Philip really wished to gain a foothold in central Greece and at the same time to pose as a champion of the prophetic god. Passing through Thermopylæ a few days after signing the treaty, as agent of the Amphictyonic Council he destroyed the twenty-two cities of Phocis and scattered the inhabitants in villages. The council decreed that the Phocians should repay by annual instalments the ten thousand talents of which they had robbed Apollo's treasury. Philip now held a place of great influence in Greece. "The god who sat on the navel of Hellas acknowledged his new champion through the mouth of his Prophetess. The ancient and venerated union of the Amphictyons elected him by acclamation to the empty seat of the Phocians, receiving him thus into the innermost circle of the Hellenes. And in the character of the greatest Hellene of them all he sat in the Pythian chair of presidency that autumn, and gave the bay-leaf crowns to the victors at the games. With the noise of him all Greece was filled, even as the brain of that half-witted Arcadian, who, arrested at Delphi, cried that he was running and would run still, until he came to a people that knew not Philip."

The fate of Phocis.

Philip, the greatest of the Hellenes.

Hogarth, p. 97.

Throughout the years of peace which followed, Philip was busily engaged in winning friends among the Greeks; he placed his brother-in-law as vassal on the throne of Epeirus, allied himself with Ætolia, and labored to bring all Hellas under his will by creating in each city a party devoted to himself. In all his movements, however, he met with strenuous opposition from Demosthenes, now the leading statesman of his city. Under his guidance Athens, already the recognized intellectual mistress of Hellas, renouncing all claims to political supremacy, contented herself with a leadership over voluntary allies, for her glory but for their welfare. The great orator was elevating his state to a higher moral plane

Struggle between Philip and Demosthenes, 343–338 B.C.

Curtius, v, p. 333 ff.; Holm, III, ch. xviii.

than had yet been reached by any other Hellenic city: "Suppose that you have one of the gods as surety that Philip will leave you untouched, in case you hold your hands and abandon everything; in the name of all the powers above, it is a shame for you and your city to sacrifice in indolent stolidity the whole number of the other Greeks; and I for my part would rather be a dead man than give such advice." On such principles Demosthenes created an Hellenic league to repel Philip from Greece. The majority of states in Peloponnese and several in central Greece joined it.

Battle of Chæroneia, 338 B.C.

Philip again marched through Thermopylæ to put an end to another sacred war which his agents had kindled for

BATTLEFIELD OF CHÆRONEIA

Holm, III, chs. xviii-xix; Hogarth, p. 119 ff.

him in central Greece, and occupied Elateia near the Bœotian frontier. As this movement threatened both Thebes and Athens, Thebes was induced to enter the Hellenic League, whose forces now met Philip at Chæroneia in Bœo-

tia, but were overwhelmingly defeated. In this battle two opposing principles came into conflict: a loose federal union, which allowed its members a large degree of local freedom, strove to maintain itself against a compact state under a monarch. The triumph of the monarchy has helped to determine the course of the world's history to the present day: the great states of modern times owe their existence in part to the impetus given to centralization by the victory of Philip at Chæroneia.

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# CHAPTER XVI

## ALEXANDER'S EMPIRE AND THE SPREAD OF HELLENIC CIVILIZATION OVER THE EAST (338–146 B.C.)

Hellenic League under Macedon, 338 B.C.

Holm, III, p. 283 f.

WITH the battle of Chæroneia the history of Greece merges in that of Macedon. According to the wishes of Philip, the Greek cities retained their constitutions but committed to him as their representative all their interstate and foreign relations, including the power to declare war and make peace. They also acknowledged him their captain-general in war. A congress of Greek states meeting at Corinth deliberated on the common affairs of Greece, while the Amphictyonic Council continued as the supreme court of the country. Sparta alone stood aloof from these proceedings and would have nothing to do with Macedon. The other states agreed to furnish troops for Philip's war against Persia. Preparations for this enterprise went on actively till, in 336 B.C., the army was ready to move into Asia, when Philip was delayed by troubles in his own house. His wife, Olympias, the mother of his son Alexander, was an Epeirot princess, a wild, fierce woman, who for religious worship indulged in fantastic mysteries closely akin to witchcraft. Sent home to her kinsmen and supplanted by a younger wife, she began in jealous rage to plot against her lord. Between Philip and Alexander an angry brawl arose; then came a reconciliation celebrated with splendid feasts and games. In the midst of the rejoicing, a certain Pausanias, perhaps incited by the cast-off queen, stabbed Philip to death as he was entering the theatre. Alexander, who

Assassination of Philip, 336 B.C.

succeeded to the kingdom at the age of twenty, found the great work of his father rapidly crumbling, — the Macedonians disaffected, barbarous tribes threatening invasion, and Greece rebellious.

Alexander the Great.

He was at this time a smooth-faced, ruddy-cheeked youth, with eyes and face full of animation and with the form of an Olympic runner. But he preferred hunting to athletics, and showed his boldness and skill by taming the fiery horse Bucephalus. There was in him the same eagerness for knowledge as for exercise; and among his many tutors was Aristotle, the most learned of all the Greeks. Alexander, believing from his boyhood that nothing was too great for him to accomplish, tried to master every branch of knowledge, theoretical and practical, from literature to political and moral science, metaphysics, and even medicine. He was passionately fond of the *Iliad*, as he found reflected in it the character of his Macedonian countrymen and discovered in the hero Achilles his own ideal and image. The young king was an impetuous yet manly spirit, sincere in an age of deceit, incessantly active in the midst of a generation of drones. Rejecting on his accession the advice of those who counselled slow deliberation in meeting the difficulties which beset him, with a few masterful strokes he reduced the kingdom of his father to order. In stamping out the rebellion in Greece, Alexander took Thebes by storm, destroyed the entire city excepting the temples and the home of Pindar, and sold the inhabitants into slavery; but of this severity he afterwards repented and tried to undo the mischief. The rest of Greece retained the rights which his father had granted, and was not even required to furnish troops for the war with Persia in which he was about to engage.

Plutarch, *Alexander*; Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander*.

P. 10.

P. 91 f.

In the spring of 334 B.C., Alexander crossed the Helles-

Invasion of Asia.

pont with forty thousand troops, and began the invasion of the Persian empire, for which the best men of Greece had long been yearning. He aspired to draw the hearts of his people to himself as the hero who would punish the Persians for desolating his country and burning its temples. The

Granicus, 334 B.C. Arrian, i, 12–16.

enemy first offered resistance on the Granicus River in Troyland; without hesitation Alexander crossed the stream under a storm of darts, and carried the enemy's position by a bold dash. Half of the force which opposed him there consisted of Greeks who were serving the Asiatic king for pay. When, too, it became certain that the war-ships of Hellas would coöperate with those of Darius, Alexander determined to sweep the coast of the empire from Ephesus to the mouths of the Nile, that hostile fleets might find no landing-place in his rear; he must wage a naval war with his land troops. Fortresses must be stormed on the way, garrisons stationed in walled towns, and communications kept open with Macedon. As the Greek cities one by one fell into his power, he gave them democratic governments, but denied them the dearly-beloved privilege of killing and banishing oligarchs. Greece had never before seen a policy at once so vigorous and so humane.

Battle of Issus, 333 B.C. Arrian, ii, 6–12.

At Issus in Cilicia he met King Darius in command of a vast host, yet posted in a narrow valley where numbers did not count. Though outnumbered perhaps twenty to one, by a skilful attack he routed the unwieldy mass, and sent the royal coward into headlong flight. Alexander always exposed himself recklessly in battle, and on this occasion was wounded by a sword-thrust in the thigh. A great quantity of booty, and even the mother, wife, and children of the king, fell into his hands. These persons he treated kindly, but he refused to negotiate with Darius for peace: "For the future when you wish anything of me, send to me

THE BATTLE OF ISSUS (?)

(From the "Sarcophagus of Alexander" at Constantinople.)

not as your equal, but as the lord of all Asia; and if you dispute my right to the kingdom, stay and fight another battle for it instead of running away."

Alexander and the Greeks.

Soon after this battle he took captive some ambassadors who had come up from Greece to form with Darius a common plan of resistance to the Macedonians. Instead of punishing the envoys for what he might legally have regarded as treason, he found excuses for them, one by one, and let them go. It was a great misfortune for the Greeks that they could not understand Alexander's character and motives; for, had they given him their support and sympathy, had they claimed him as their own, they might have imposed a wholesome check upon his ambition, and have reaped all the profit of his success. But the fault was not wholly with the Greeks; the statesman who in the pursuit of lofty ideals makes no attempt to elevate the people to his own level of intelligence certainly lacks wisdom. So it was with Alexander. For a time he tried to win the Greeks by acts of kindness to men and states; we shall see how he alienated them by his own unreasonableness.

P. 317 f.

Siege of Tyre, 332 B.C. Arrian, ii. 15–24.

From Issus Alexander proceeded to Tyre. The capture of this city by siege and storm was the most brilliant of all his military exploits. Though harassed by fire-ships on his flanks and by sorties from the harbors, he succeeded in building a mole from the mainland to the isle on which the city stood. During the siege he collected a fleet of Greek and Phœnician vessels, and on the completion of the mole he made the attack at once by land and sea. Many thousand Tyrians were slain in the storming of their city, and thousands of captives were sold into slavery. The great emporium of the East was left a heap of ruins. Darius could no longer look for help from the Phœnician navy, or from coöperation with the Greeks. He now offered still more

favorable terms of peace, — Alexander should have all the country west of the Euphrates, and should become the son-in-law and ally of the king. "Were I Alexander," said Parmenion, the ablest Macedonian general, "I should accept the offer." "And so should I, if I were Parmenion," Alexander replied, and sent word to Darius that he would not content himself with the half, since the whole was already his, and that if he chose to marry his adversary's daughter, he would do so without asking the father's consent. Darius then began fresh preparations for war, and Alexander marched on to Egypt, which yielded to him without resistance. Near one of the mouths of the Nile he founded Alexandria to take the place of Tyre, and with its trade-routes to bind fast his new dominions to the throne of his fathers. It grew to be the greatest commercial city of the eastern Mediterranean; in the following century it became famous for its library and its learning; Greeks, Jews, and Egyptians, mingling in social life and in study, produced in it a type of culture unique in history.

Alexandria. Arrian, iii, 1–5.

P. 320 ff.

Before departing from Egypt Alexander paid a visit to the oracle of the god Ammon in an oasis of the Libyan desert, and received assurance from the deity who sat in this vast solitude that he, the conqueror of nations, was in reality a son of Zeus. So at least it was rumored; but he kept the secret, and led his army from the Nile country to the heart of the Persian empire. Some sixty miles from Arbela, north of Babylon, he again met the enemy. On this occasion Darius had chosen a favorable position, a broad plain in which his force of a million men found ample room for movement. The two armies halted in view of each other. While Alexander's troops slept the night through, Darius, keeping his men under arms, reviewed them by torchlight. Parmenion, beholding all the

The oracle of Ammon.

Battle of Arbela, 331 B.C.

Arrian, iii, 7 15; Plut. *Alexander*.

plain aglow with the lights and fires of the Asiatics, and hearing the uncertain and confused sound of voices from their camp like the distant roar of the vast ocean, was amazed at the multitude of the foe, and, hastening to the tent of Alexander, besought him to make a night attack that darkness might hide them from the enemy. "I will not steal a victory!" the young king replied. He knew Darius would lose all hope of resistance only when conquered by force of arms in a straightforward battle. It was a fierce struggle which took place on the following day; but the steady advance of the bristling phalanx and the furious charge of the Macedonian cavalry under the lead of their king won the day over the unorganized, spiritless mass of Orientals. Many a Persian grandee's womanly face was marred on that day by the lance-points of Alexander's "companions." The long struggle between two continents which began with the earliest Persian attacks on Greece was decided in favor of Europe by the intelligent and robust manliness of the Westerners; the clash of arms at Marathon found an echo at Arbela.

ALEXANDER IN BATTLE

(From the "Sarcophagus of Alexander" at Constantinople.)

Alexander succeeds Darius, 330 B.C.

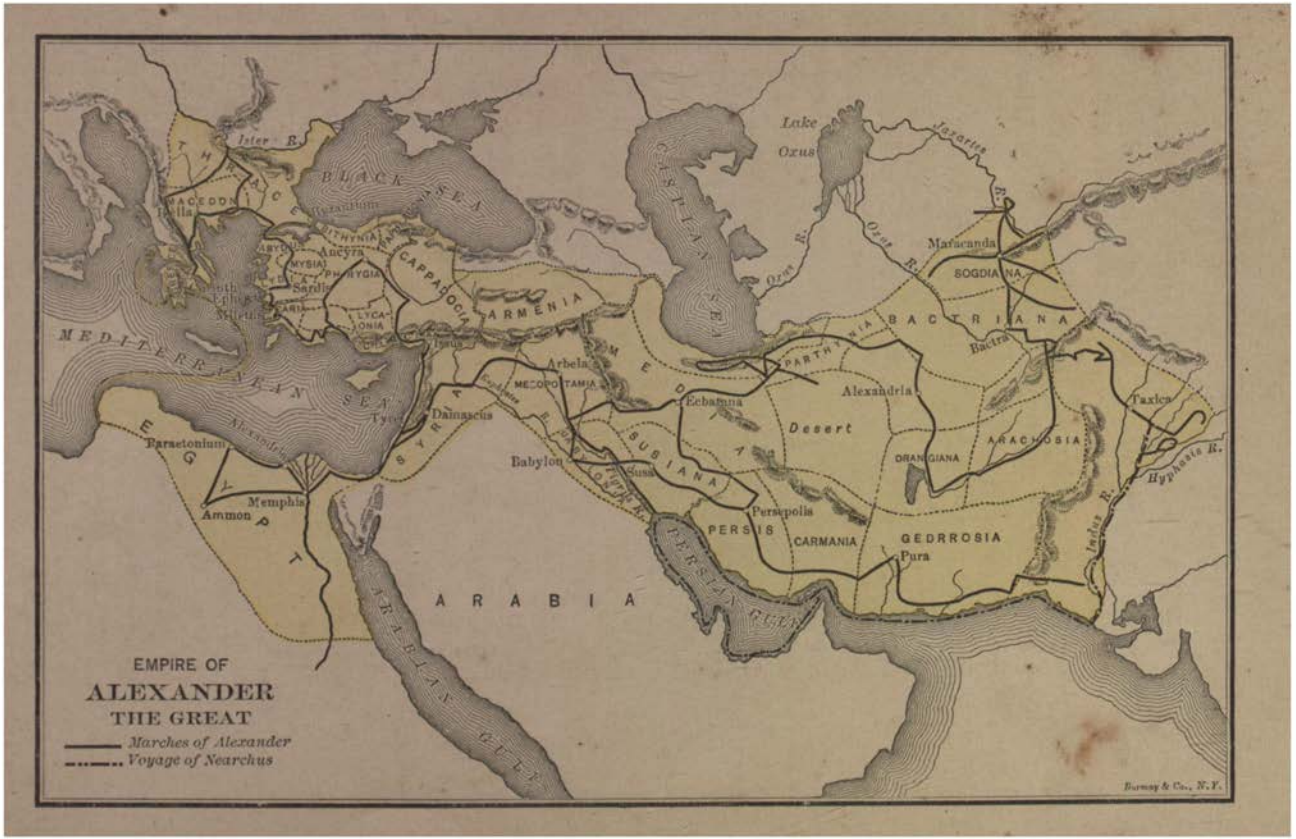
Darius fled northward, but was murdered by an attendant on the way. Alexander as his successor was master of the empire. The pacification of the great country, the extension of boundaries, the organization and administration, were matters of detail. Alexander's victorious marches into the remote northerly countries of Bactria and Sogdiana and eastward to the Hyphasis in India are interesting both as brilliant military achievements and as explorations of regions hitherto unknown to the Greeks. Science made enormous gains, for minute records of observations were kept, and materials were everywhere collected for classification by Aristotle and his school. The return from India through the Gedrosian desert was a marvellous feat of endurance. The men marched for sixty days, hungry and thirsty, through burning sands and under a lurid sky to gratify the ambition of their leader. Three-fourths of the army perished on the way; but Alexander was now lord of Asia, and to such a despot human life is cheap. His admiral, Nearchus, who at the same time was voyaging from the mouth of the Indus to the Persian Gulf, opened a water-route to India and robbed the ocean of its supernatural terrors.

Further conquests and explorations, 330–325 B.C. Arrian, iii, 16–vi, 21.

325 B.C. Arrian, vi, 22–27.

Plans for further conquest, 323 B.C.

Immediately after his return to Babylon, Alexander began to settle the affairs of his empire, which reached from the western limits of Greece to the Hyphasis River in India, and from the Jaxartes River to Ethiopia, — the greatest extent of country yet united under one government. He busied himself, too, with recruiting and reorganizing the army and with building an immense fleet; for he was planning the conquest of Arabia, Africa, and western Europe. When ready to set out from Babylon on this expedition, he suddenly fell sick of a fever caused probably by excessive drinking. As he grew rapidly worse,


EMPIRE OF
ALEXANDER
THE GREAT
Marches of Alexander
Voyage of Nearchus
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
ARABIA
EGYPT
SYRIA
ASSYRIA
MESOPOTAMIA
BABYLONIA
SUSIANA
PERSIS
CARMANIA
GEDRROSIA
PARTHYAEA
BACTRIANA
SOGDIANA
ARACHOSIA
ORANGIANA
Desert
PERSIAN GULF
ARABIAN GULF
Lake Oxus
Oxus R.
Jaxartes R.
Indus R.
Hyphasis R.
Inter R.
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Nile R.
Alexandria
Maracanda
Bactra
Taxila
Ecbatana
Arbela
Babylon
Susa
Persepolis
Pura
Damascus
Memphis
Ammon
Parsetonium
Tyre
Sardis
Ancyra
Gaugamela
Issus
Granicus R.
Bithynia
Cappadocia
Armenia
Lycaonia
Phrygia
Mysia
Caria
Lydia
Ionia
Thrace
Macedonia
Pella
Byzantium
Abydos
Ephesus
Miletus
Halicarnassus
Cyprus
Cilicia
Paphlagonia
Colchis
Media
Elymais
Gedrosia
Arachosia
Bactriana
Sogdiana
Parthyaea
Carmania
Persis
Susiana
Babylonia
Assyria
Syria
Egypt
Arabia
Burmay & Co., N.Y.

the soldiers forced their way in to see their beloved commander once more, and the whole army passed in single file by his bed. He was no longer able to speak, but his eyes and uplifted hand expressed his silent farewell. Death, 323 B.C.

He was in his thirty-third year when he died, but the work which he accomplished in his short career fills a larger space in the world's history perhaps than that of any other human being. His mission was to make Hellenic civilization the common property of mankind. This he accomplished chiefly by means of his colonies. In every part of his empire he planted cities, more than seventy in all, each with a Greek nucleus, beginning usually with the worn-out soldiers of his army. These settlements held the empire in allegiance to their king, bound the several parts of it together by the ties of commerce, and spread Greek culture among the natives. He improved greatly the administration of the empire. The satrap had been a despot after the pattern of the king whom he served, uniting in himself all military, financial, and judicial authority; but Alexander in organizing a province assigned each of these functions to a distinct officer, so that the work of government could be done better than before, and there was far less opportunity for the abuse of power. Though the empire was broken after his death, his colonization and administration continued till the fragments of the empire with the policy of the founder came into the possession of Rome. His achievements.

Alexander's mind had expanded rapidly with the progress of his conquests. First king of Macedon, next captain-general of Hellas, then emperor of Persia, he aspired finally to be lord of the whole earth, to unite Europe, Asia, and Africa into an organic unit, to blend the nationalities so completely that all men would become brothers in one great family. But the dizzy height of power to which he had His character.

climbed disturbed his mental poise; in an outburst of passion he murdered his dearest friend; his lust for worship grew upon him till he bade the manly Macedonians grovel before him like servile Asiatics, and sent an order to the Greeks to recognize him as a god. Although his errors were many, they were soon forgotten, while the good he did passed into history.

The succession.

When Alexander died the authority passed to his generals, trained tacticians indeed like Napoleon's marshals, yet none of them qualified to fill the place of the master. Only the genius which had created this great empire out of diverse nationalities would have been able to organize it and to make it permanent. As there were several claimants for the throne, — among them an imbecile and an infant, the son of Alexander, — and as the generals, too, began to fight among themselves for the chief place, the empire naturally fell to pieces.

The battle of Ipsus, 301 B.C.

Perdiccas, to whom Alexander in the last moment had given his signet-ring to mark him as successor, ruled for a time as guardian of the infant heir; but when finally he was killed by his own troops, Antigonus, the ablest of Alexander's lieutenants, made himself master of Asia, and claimed sovereignty over the whole empire. The conqueror at the point of death had prophesied that a great funeral contest would be held over his body. The celebration of his burial rites now began in dreadful earnest, as the larger part of the civilized world became involved in war. Four other generals, Ptolemy, Seleucus, Lysimachus, and Cassander, combined against Antigonus. Lysimachus and Seleucus with their armies defeated their mighty rival at Ipsus in Phrygia in 301 B.C. This was one of the most important battles of ancient times, as it determined the history of the empire till it fell under the power of Rome.

The victors, no longer mere generals but kings, divided the empire among themselves: Seleucus received Asia from Phrygia to India; western Asia Minor and Thrace fell to Lysimachus. Ptolemy, who after the death of Alexander had gone as satrap to Egypt, retained that country as his kingdom; and Cassander, already governor of Macedon, was now recognized as sovereign. In this way Alexander's empire broke up into four kingdoms. Somewhat later Lysimachus was slain and his realm divided. While most of his Asiatic possessions were annexed to the dominion of Seleucus, barbarous tribes, including many Gauls, seized the interior of Thrace and threatened the Greek cities along the coast.

Division of the empire.

We shall now indicate briefly the character and the historical importance of the three remaining kingdoms.

History of the kingdoms.

Among the successors of Alexander the ablest administrator was Seleucus. Following the policy of his master, he planted as many as seventy-five colonies in his realm. Among these was Seleucia on the Tigris, said to have contained six hundred thousand inhabitants and to have rivalled Babylon in splendor. As a capital for his kingdom he founded Antioch in Syria not far from the sea, — a city which was to become notable in early Christian history. "The new towns were all built on a large and comfortable model; they were well paved; they had ample arrangements for lighting by night and for a good water-supply; they had police arrangements, and good thoroughfares secured to them by land and water. These were in themselves privileges enough to tempt all the surrounding peasants, all the people who lived in old-fashioned incommodious villages, to settle in a fresh home." This is what the Greeks under the patronage of Seleucus were doing for Asia. Colonists from every part of Greece

The empire of the Seleucidæ.

Mahaffy, *Greek Life and Thought*, p. 307.

brought their industry and enterprise to every part of the Seleucid empire; they furnished the intelligence and the skill by which the whole commercial business as well as the civil service of the empire was conducted. The new towns were Hellenic in language, in civilization, and in their free local institutions. Through them Seleucus and his descendants, the Seleucidæ, continued Alexander's work of Hellenizing the East, making the people in the great country over which they ruled one in language, in culture, and in sympathy, and preparing the way for the peaceful and rapid spread of Christianity. As the promoters of civilization, the Seleucidæ were the most worthy among the successors of Alexander.

Egypt under the Ptolemies.

The rule of Ptolemy and his successors, the Ptolemies, though an absolute monarchy, was mild; the rulers consulted the interests of the people that their own revenues might be large and their power secure. Under them Alexandria became a great commercial city and a famous seat of culture. The chief institution of learning was the

The Museum.

Museum, founded by the first Ptolemy and greatly enlarged by his son, Ptolemy Philadelphus. It was a collection of buildings on a piece of ground sacred to the Muses, — hence the name. The institution was thoroughly equipped with observatories, zoölogical gardens, and herbaria. The library, containing more than five hundred thousand manuscripts, was the largest in ancient times. Learned men were attracted to the Museum by the great facilities for investigation and by the liberality of the government in providing them with a living during their residence there. Among the buildings were dwellings for the scholars and a dining-hall in which all ate together at public expense.

Greeks and Jews.

The scholars of the Museum occupied themselves with editing and explaining Homer and other ancient poets, with

mathematical and astronomical investigations, with computing the size of the earth and arranging the events of the world's history in chronological order. The Jews, who had their quarter in Alexandria, enjoyed equal opportunities with the Greeks for trade and for culture. Under the patronage of the Ptolemies, learned Jews translated their Bible — the Old Testament — into Greek. This version is called the Septuagint because of the number of men said to have been engaged in the work. The fact that such a translation was necessary proves that even the Jews, with all their love for the institutions of their fathers, had exchanged their own language for that of Hellas.

Alexandrian scholarship.

It is worth noticing that, though the studies pursued at Alexandria were useful, most of them must have been prosaic. This peculiar flavor of culture under the Ptolemies came chiefly from the prosy situation of Alexandria, which contrasted with the natural beauty surrounding the cities of Hellas. "The grandeur of solemn mountains, the mystery of deep forests, the sweet homeliness of babbling rivers, the scent of deep meadows and fragrant shrubs, all this was familiar even to the city people of Hellenic days. For their towns were small, and all surrounded by the greatest natural beauty. But the din and dust of the new capital, reaching over an extent as great as modern Paris, were relieved within by a few town-parks or gymnasia, and without by fashionable bathing suburbs, with luxuries of life replacing the sweets of nature; and if there was retirement and leisure within the university, it was eminently the retirement among books — the natural home of pedants and grammarians. How much this city life weighed upon the spirits of men is proved . . . by the general dryness and dulness of the literature it produced." No wonder then that these pedants welcomed among them the poet Theoc-

Mahaffy, *Greek Life and Thought*, p. 165.

ritus of Syracuse, a composer of pastoral idyls. As the Alexandrians saw nothing about them but houses, swamps, and water, they felt refreshed by reading poems of country life.

Macedon and Greece, 323–146 B.C.

In the period following the death of Alexander, the history of Macedon turns first on the efforts of her kings to subdue Greece and later on their unsuccessful struggle with Rome. On hearing that Alexander was dead the Greeks revolted; and under the lead of Leosthenes, an Athenian general, they defended Thermopylæ against Antipater, governor of Macedon. Demosthenes, who had been heavily fined on a charge of embezzling public funds, was in exile. His sour, wrinkled face must have glowed again like a prophet's, now that he hoped once more to see his country free. As he travelled through Peloponnese in company with Athenian envoys, his eloquence awakened the communities to an Hellenic war of liberation. In recognition of his loyal spirit and his service in the cause of freedom, the Athenians recalled him and appropriated fifty talents with which to pay his fine.

The Lamian War, 322 B.C.

The end of Demosthenes, 322 B.C.

Meantime Leosthenes had pushed Antipater back into Thessaly and was besieging him in Lamia, a fortress which gave its name to the war. Many states, chiefly the Ætolians, supported the Hellenic cause. There was every prospect of success, when Leosthenes was killed in an assault upon Lamia, and thereafter everything went wrong. Finally the Hellenic League was dissolved, and Antipater made terms with the separate states. Athens was compelled to receive a Macedonian garrison at Munychia, to exclude her poorer citizens from the franchise, and to deliver up the orators who had opposed Macedon. Among these offenders was Demosthenes. He fled at once from Athens, and soon afterward took poison that he might not fall alive

into the hands of his pursuers. Thus his mighty spirit ceased to contend against despotism. On the base of his statue his countrymen placed this epitaph: "Had your strength equalled your will, Demosthenes, the Macedonian War God would never have conquered Greece."

The Ætolian League.

The Greeks began to feel that in order to preserve their liberties they must unite more closely. The first to put this idea into practice were the Ætolians, the least civilized of the Greeks, yet among the foremost in political capacity. The league of Ætolian tribes which had existed from early times enjoyed in the present period a remarkably good form of government. Many communities outside of Ætolia — in Peloponnese, in the Ægean, and about the Hellespont — willingly joined it. Though others were forced to become members, yet all undoubtedly had equal rights and enjoyed fair representation in the council and the assembly. As the Ætolians had a good representative system and in addition a strong magistracy, their state was a great improvement on the city-state such as Athens or Sparta; it was a federal union somewhat like that of the United States. Had the Ætolians been more civilized, they would have proved a blessing to Greece; but their appetite for plunder too often led them to side with the enemies of their race.

The Achæan League, 280 B.C.

Some Achæan cities, too, began to form a league modelled apparently after that of Ætolia. From this small beginning a great federal union was to be built up, chiefly by Aratus, a noble of Sicyon. The father of Aratus had been killed by the tyrant of his city, and the lad who was one day to be the maker of a great state grew up an exile in Argos. While still a young man he expelled the tyrant from his native city and brought it into the Achæan League. "He was a true statesman, high-minded, and more intent Plut. *Aratus*.

upon the public than his private concerns, a bitter hater of tyrants, making the common good the rule and law of his friendships and enmities." He advanced so rapidly
215 B.C. in the esteem of the Achæans that they elected him general when he was but twenty-seven years of age. Their confidence was by no means misplaced. Under his life-long guidance, the league extended itself till it came to include all Peloponnese with the exception of Lacedæmon. Nothing was so dear to him as the union he was fostering:
Plut. *op. cit.* "for he believed that the cities, weak individually, could be preserved by nothing else but a mutual assistance under the closest bond of the common interest." His jealousy of other leaders — his desire to remain sole general — seems pardonable when we think of this great state as the work of his hands.

Aratus and Cleomenes, 235 B.C. The further growth of the league was hindered on one side by Athens, too proud to act with other states, and on the other by Lacedæmon, now under an able king, Cleomenes. Wishing to restore decayed Sparta to her ancient
Plut. *Cleomenes.* condition, Cleomenes abolished the ephorate and probably the council, cancelled debts, and redistributed property with a view to increasing the number of citizens and soldiers. Sincere in his desire to benefit his city, he was perhaps the ablest statesman and the greatest hero of Greece after Alexander. Cleomenes applied for permission to bring his state into the league and asked to be made general. The admission of Sparta on these terms would have assured the lasting success of the union, especially as it would have provided an able, noble-hearted man to succeed Aratus. But the Achæan statesman refused. Such heroic self-sacrifice could hardly be expected of human nature; and Aratus, though he lived for the glory of the union, was selfish. Cleomenes, who had al-

ready opened war upon the league, now assailed it so vigorously that Aratus was induced to call upon Macedon for help. Antigonus, regent of that country, entered Peloponnese with his army and thoroughly defeated Cleomenes. When the Spartan king saw all his hopes shattered, he bade farewell to his ruined country and sailed away to Egypt, where he met a violent death. Greece was now in a wretched plight; Sparta had lost her independence and the Achæan League had for the time being enslaved itself to Macedon. Aratus, the mainstay of the union, was poisoned at the instigation of Philip V, who had become king of Macedon in 220 B.C. 221 B.C.

We are approaching the conflict between Greece and Rome. The city on the Tiber, through her genius for organization and her liberality in bestowing political privileges, had made herself supreme in Italy, and then in a long, hard-fought war had wrested Sicily from Carthage and had made of it her first province. A second war with Carthage was now going on, and the Carthaginian Hannibal, one of the greatest commanders of all time, was in Italy annihilating Roman armies and marching wherever he willed. With intense interest the Macedonian king watched the contest, for he felt that the triumph of Italy would be a menace to himself. After the overwhelming defeat of the Romans at Cannæ, he hastened to ally himself with the victor; but so far from affecting the issue of the struggle, he merely brought upon himself the wrath of Rome. Rome threatens. 264–241 B.C. 219–201 B.C. 216 B.C.

When accordingly the Roman Scipio had conquered Hannibal and closed the war, Rome sent her consul Flamininus into Greece to punish Philip. The Athenians, the Ætolians, and others joined the Italian invader, who had come, they thought, to deliver them from the insolence of War with Rome.

Macedon. The eyes of the world followed the movements of the Roman legion and the Macedonian phalanx, for now for the first time since Pyrrhus these two most efficient military systems of ancient times came into conflict. The phalanx was a solid body of bronze-clad warriors bristling with twenty-four-foot pikes; on level ground it was unconquerable, but among the hills it could be easily broken. The legion, on the contrary, was light and flexible, developed especially with a view to fighting the mountaineers of central Italy. At Cynoscephalæ — Dog's Heads — a
197 B.C. low range of hills in Thessaly, the armies met, and after a sharp struggle the legion was victorious. This success was due not only to the Roman military organization, but quite as much to the nature of the ground, to the good generalship of Flamininus, and to the superiority of Roman soldiers over those of Greece. Flamininus compelled Philip to cede his Greek dependencies to Rome; then at the Isthmian games in the following spring, amid the rejoicing of the multitude, the consul proclaimed all these states free, and assured to Greece the protection of the Western Republic. Some of the liberated states joined the Ætolian League, others the Achæan. In this struggle the Romans had proved themselves the champions of freedom against a despot.

End of the Seleucid empire.

The Romans next waged war upon the Seleucid empire and compelled it to give up a large part of Asia Minor. Instead of taking possession of this territory, Rome divided
190 B.C. it between Pergamum and Rhodes, both of which in consequence became important states. Some years after this war the insulting attempts of the Seleucid government to
163 B.C. Hellenize Jerusalem drove the Jews to revolt. Under the lead of the able family of Maccabees they finally gained practical independence. Still later Parthia wrested from

the Seleucidæ all their possessions east of the Euphrates, and their great empire dwindled to the petty kingdom of Syria. 139 B.C.

Conquest of Macedon.

Meantime hostilities broke out again between Rome and Macedon, now under Perseus, son of Philip V. In the fourth year of the war Lucius Æmilius Paullus, a Roman of great ability and of noble character, took the field and defeated Perseus at Pydna. The last of the Macedonian kings, carried a prisoner to Rome, followed in the triumphal procession of the conqueror. Macedon, at first divided into four republics under the protectorate of Rome, finally became a Roman province. 168 B.C. 146 B.C.

The end.

The end of Hellenic freedom was drawing near. When the quarrels of the Greeks again brought a Roman army among them, Mummius, the commander, following the instructions given him by the senate, destroyed Corinth, killed most of the men he captured, and sold the women and children into slavery. As the beautiful city, stripped of her wealth and her art, sank into ruin, the Greeks at length realized that while they still retained the form of liberty, the Roman senate was their master. Though compelled to submit to Rome, Greece through her arts led the conqueror captive and made him the bearer of her civilization to the nations of the West. Through many avenues that civilization has come down to us as one of the most precious inheritances we have received from the past. 146 B.C.

In comparing the achievements of the great races of antiquity it has been customary to attribute religion to the Hebrews, commerce to the Phœnicians, law and political organization to the Romans, and to the Greeks ideal beauty in literature and in art. Though in general all this is true, yet to appreciate what the Hellenic race has actually done, we must remember that the sense of symmetry

inherent in the soul of the Greek and expressing itself not only in literature and art, but in all the walks of life, led him to the achievement of the beautiful in every field of activity. It was this longing to realize the beautiful which moved the Greeks to codify their laws, to reform their constitutions, and freeing themselves from the bondage of traditional

CHORAGIC MONUMENT OF LYSICRATES
(Athens.)

superstition, to live rational lives in private and in public — to be a law unto themselves — centuries before these great ideas occurred to other peoples. To the love of the beautiful, tending to arrangement and system, the Greeks owed the beginning of science in all its departments. The same impulse, in purifying their religion of the grotesque and

brutal elements which belong to all primitive worships, taught them by a slow and gradual process to conceive the heavenly powers as absolutely perfect in form and in spirit, and gave rise to the marvellously beautiful thoughts of Æschylus and of Plato. In the relations, too, between man and man, between nation and nation, it tended to substitute for the barriers of local and racial prejudice bonds of kindliness and of peace based upon the beautiful sentiments of humanity and of the common brotherhood of mankind. Thus it was beauty — yet in the largest and most liberal sense of the word — which controlled the development of Greek life.

During the ages which separate us from the days of Flamininus and Mummius, Greece, after experiencing the varied fortunes of Roman, Byzantine, and Turkish rule, became, in the present century, a kingdom under the supervision of the powers of Europe. Though two thousand years have wrought great changes, —

> Yet are thy skies as blue, thy crags as wild;
> Sweet are thy groves and verdant are thy fields,
> Thine olive ripe as when Minerva smiled,
> And still his honied wealth Hymettus yields;
> There the blithe bee his fragrant fortress builds,
> The free-born wanderer of thy mountain-air;
> Apollo still thy long, long summer gilds,
> Still in his beam Mendeli's marbles glare;
> Art, Glory, Freedom fail, but Nature still is fair.
>
> Where'er we tread 'tis haunted, holy ground,
> No earth of thine is lost in vulgar mould,
> But one vast realm of wonder spreads around,
> And all the Muse's tales seem truly told,
> Till the sense aches with gazing to behold
> The scenes our earliest dreams have dwelt upon:
> Each hill and dale, each deepening glen and wold
> Defies the power which crush'd thy temples gone:
> Age shakes Athena's tower, but spares gray Marathon.
>
> — Byron.

## Sources

Reading.

For Alexander: Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander;* Plutarch, *Demosthenes, Alexander, Phocion;* Diodorus, xvii. For the period following Alexander: Diodorus, xviii ff.; Plutarch, *Eumenes, Demetrius, Pyrrhus, Aratus, Agis, Cleomenes, Philopœmen;* Polybius (consult the index for the *Ætolians* and the *Achæans*).

## Modern Authorities

(1) To the death of Alexander: Holm, *History of Greece,* III, chs. xix–xxvii, xxix; Oman, *History of Greece,* ch. xliv; Allcroft, *Decline of Hellas,* chs. vii–xi; Curteis, *Rise of the Macedonian Empire,* chs. viii–xvii; Hogarth, *Philip and Alexander;* Wheeler, *Alexander;* Dodge, *Alexander;* Timayenis, *History of Greece,* II, pt. viii; Grote, *History of Greece,* XII, chs. xci–xciv.

(2) From the death of Alexander to the Roman conquest: Holm, iv; Mahaffy, *Alexander's Empire; Greek Life and Thought from the Age of Alexander to the Roman Conquest; Empire of the Ptolemies;* Thirlwall, *History of Greece,* vii, viii; Timayenis, *History of Greece,* II, pts. viii, ix; Freeman, *History of Federal Government in Greece and Italy,* for the Leagues.

# CHAPTER XVII

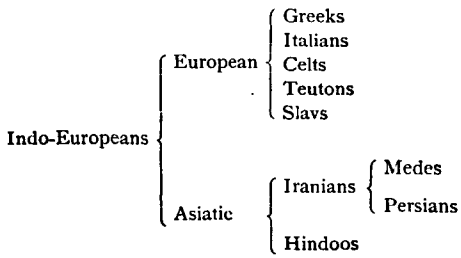
## HELPS TO THE STUDY OF GREEK HISTORY

### Periods of the History

I. *The beginnings of the Greeks — the Prehistoric Age, extending from some time in the remote past, which has not been even approximately determined, to about 700 B.C.*

This is the time in which the Greek race came into existence, and developed a character and institutions of its own. The ancestors of the Greeks, migrating from the north,[1] occupied the peninsula now called Greece, then spread their settlements eastward over the Ægean Islands to the western coast of Asia Minor, and before the close of the period began to colonize Italy and Sicily. Meantime

[1] A necessary inference from the view now generally accepted that the home of the Aryan, or Indo-European, group of races, to which the Greeks belong, was, before the migration of these races to their historic countries, mainly in Europe, probably in the region described on page 1. The theory that they lived originally in central Asia is no longer held. The following is a classification of the principal races of this group: —



some of the Greeks — chiefly those along the east coast of the peninsula — progressed beyond the tribal condition, and, under Oriental influence, built cities and acquired the civilization which we call "Mycenæan." Somewhat later the colonists in the Ægean Islands and in Asia Minor, advancing beyond the mother country, produced the first European literature, — the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, — representing a stage of civilization which we call "Epic," considerably higher than the Mycenæan. The Tribal, Mycenæan, and Epic ages correspond to the Stone, Bronze, and Iron ages respectively. The chief factor in Greek civilization, — the determining institution in Greek history, — is the city-state formed with the founding of the first city in the Mycenæan Age. The government of the city-state was at first monarchical, but before the close of the period many monarchies became aristocracies.

II. *The awakening of the Greek mind and the growth of national unity, about 700–479 B.C.*

For about a hundred and fifty years from the beginning of this period, Greece continued to expand through colonization in various directions, chiefly westward and northward; then the limits of free Hellas on the east receded for a time, because of the advance of the Lydian, and afterward of the Persian, empire. In this period native industries and commerce became important, and coined money was first used. In government many states passed from aristocracy to tyranny, and from tyranny to democracy, or to moderate, well-regulated oligarchy. Great intellectual progress took place: the Greeks made a beginning of science, geography, and philosophy; lyric poetry flourished in all parts of Greece — a kind of poetry which shows that the Greeks were actively thinking on all subjects suggested by their surround-

ings and experiences. Thinking led to religious and moral progress; the Greeks began to exercise self-restraint and moderation in life. Their sympathies widened with their intelligence; they discovered that they were all of one blood, one speech, and one religion, and began to call themselves by the common name of Hellenes. They became aware, too, of the differences between themselves and foreigners, whom they called "barbarians," and of their own superiority to them. Conflicts with foreigners led the Greeks to sympathize further with each other, and to feel that they ought to combine for mutual defence. Towards the close of the period the Persian empire threatened to absorb all eastern Greece, while at the same time Carthage menaced the Greeks of the West. The pressure of this common danger created a strong movement in the direction of political unity. Many of the states of continental Greece united to resist the encroachment of the Persians; and in the West there was a similar combination against the Carthaginians. The Greeks were overwhelmingly successful both in the East and in the West; Asiatic Greece was set free; Greece was relieved of fear from foreigners; Greek civilization was saved for the world; Greece came out of the struggle strong, proud, self-conscious, — ready for great achievements in peace and in war.

III. *The most vigorous intellectual and political activity of the Greeks, 479–404* B.C.

This is the period of dramatic poetry, of the noblest historical writing, and of the grand in art; in this time the Greeks made a beginning of written oratory and written philosophy. In the early part of the period there was comparative harmony between political parties and peace among the states. But the conflict with foreigners created

a strong tendency in the direction of popular government: democracies took the place of tyrannies and of aristocracies in western Greece, while in Athens, and, under her influence, in other eastern states the democratic constitutions already existing became still more democratic. This movement met with opposition from the conservatives, who looked to Sparta for protection and guidance. Thus the general harmony gave way to a division into democracy and oligarchy under the lead of Athens and of Sparta respectively. Finally, between the two principles of government a rupture came in the Peloponnesian War, in which almost all the Greeks took part under the lead of Athens or of Sparta. The war ended with the temporary overthrow of democracy, and the establishment of oligarchy in most of the eastern Greek states under the despotic rule of Sparta, while in the West another Carthaginian invasion led to the forcible centralization of a large part of Sicily, and of some states of Magna Græcia under a despot, Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse.

IV. *The ripening of the Greek intellect, and the decline of the city-state, 404–338 B.C.*

The ripening of the intellect is indicated by the decline of poetic literature and the development of prose. This was the great age of oratory and of philosophy, of refinement in literature and in art; thought prevailed over action and strength was to some extent sacrificed to beauty and finish. The growing refinement and love of peace is indicated by the fact that the citizens of the city-states shirked military service, so that war came into the hands of mercenaries drawn largely from the less civilized territorial states.

In the beginning of this period all eastern Greece was united under the rule of Sparta and nearly all western

Greece under Dionysius, while Sparta and Dionysius were in sympathy with each other. This was the nearest approach of Greece to political unity; but as neither Sparta nor Dionysius was equal to the task of ruling a free people, the two great political units soon crumbled. Thebes under Epaminondas attempted in vain to take the place of Sparta on the continent, while the Ægean states formed a loose, short-lived federation under Athens. The power of Thebes fell with the death of Epaminondas; the Phocians by the use of the Delphic treasury came for a brief season into great prominence; and Athens, though disinclined to a vigorous foreign policy, became the intellectual and moral centre of Greece. Among all the city-states there was a tendency to political disintegration; everywhere old leagues were giving way to new combinations. But the crumbling of the city-state system, with the breaking down of local prejudices, prepared the way for broader and more liberal sympathies, — the mill of the gods was grinding Hellenism to humanism.

CORINTHIAN CAPITAL
(From Epidaurus.)

Meantime Macedon, a territorial state under King Philip, taking advantage of the political disunion and mutual jealousies of the city republics, began to encroach upon free

Hellas. The crisis came at Chæroneia, where Philip defeated the combined forces of Athens and Thebes; the era of the city-state and of the city leadership ended, and the ground was ready for new and larger experiments in politics.

V. *Alexander's empire and the federal unions, and the spread of Hellenic civilization over the world, 338–146 B.C.*

The states of western Greece, after varied experiences of free government, tyranny, and foreign rule — Carthaginian and native Italian — fell under the power of Rome; those of eastern Greece, still nominally retaining their republican constitutions, were but a part of the great Macedonian empire which Alexander formed chiefly of the Persian empire, but which after his death divided into independent kingdoms. Later, many Greek states, mostly of the continent, joined in two federal unions — the Ætolian and the Achæan — for the protection of their liberties against Macedon. The federal union, which united the strength of the states, and at the same time left each a large measure of independence, was the noblest political creation of the Greeks, and might have been a means of preserving their liberties, had it not come too late. For Rome, after subduing western Greece and Carthage, interfered in the affairs of the eastern Greeks, and finally annexed their whole country to her empire.

In this period Alexander and his successors spread Hellenic civilization over the East. The Romans, on the other hand, who from the time of their contact with Greece — first the western colonies and afterward the mother country — had begun to enrich their lives with the Hellenic culture, gradually brought that culture in a modified form to the nations of western Europe. Among those treasures of

Hellas, possessed as heirlooms by the world of to-day, there are perhaps none which we should prize so highly as the ideas of intellectual and political liberty which the Greeks were the first to conceive and to make real.

## Examples of Outlines

### 1. THE IONIC REVOLT

I. **Causes.**

1. Oppression by the Persians in —
   - *a.* Religion.
   - *b.* Tyrannies.
   - *c.* Tributes.
   - *d.* Military service, as in —
     - (1) Conquest of Egypt.
     - (2) Scythian expedition.
2. Character of the Asiatic Greeks.
   - *a.* Intelligent and liberty-loving.
   - *b.* Increasing nationalism.
   - *c.* Influence of individual leaders, as —
     - (1) Miltiades.
     - (2) Aristagoras.
3. Immediate occasion —
   Failure of Aristagoras to conquer Naxos.

II. **Extent of the Revolt.**

The Greeks of Asia Minor, of some of the islands, of the Hellespont, of Thrace, of Macedon, and of Chalcidice (see Map, p. 127).

III. **Chief Events of the Revolt.**

1. The overthrow of tyrannies in Ionia.
2. Visit of Aristagoras to Sparta and Athens; Athens and Eretria send help.
3. The burning of Sardis; the defeat of the Greeks at Ephesus; results of these events.
4. Battle at Lade, 497 B.C.
   - *a.* Conduct of the Greeks; the light which this conduct throws upon their character.
   - *b.* Results.

5. Capture of Miletus, 494 B.C.
   *a*. Effect on the city itself.
   *b*. Effect on the Athenians.
   *c*. Importance for Europe.

**IV. Results of the War.**

1. Political enslavement of the Asiatic Greeks; their gradual deterioration.
2. Effect on Europe — a blow to civilization; cf. what is said of the capture of Miletus, p. 115.
3. Effect on the Greeks — made them feel that Persia was irresistible.
4. Effect on the Persians — led them to invade European Greece, — so caused the war between Greece and Persia.

**V. Sources of Information.**

*a*. Original.
*b*. Modern.

## 2. THE DELIAN CONFEDERACY AND THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE

### A. The Delian Confederacy

**I. Origin.**

1. Historical precedents.
   *a*. The Delian Amphictyony.
   *b*. The Peloponnesian League.
2. General causes.
   *a*. Growing feeling of nationality among the Greeks, which created a tendency to political unity.
   *b*. Desire on the part of those Greeks who inhabited Asia Minor and the Ægean Islands of maintaining their liberty against Persia.
3. Events leading to it.
   *a*. The war with Persia, which resulted in the liberation of the Greeks of Asia Minor and of the Ægean Islands.
   *b*. The building of the Athenian navy, on the proposition of Themistocles, 483 B.C., which enabled Athens to offer protection to these Greeks.

*c*. The Athenian alliance with some of the Asiatic Greeks after the battle of Mycale, 479 B.C. Reasons for this alliance.

(1) The Peloponnesians, feeling unable to protect these Greeks in their homes, proposed to transplant them to the European side of the Ægean.

(2) Athens, powerful at sea and ambitious for leadership, regarding these Greeks as her colonists, offered them the desired protection.

*d*. Transfer of the naval leadership from Lacedæmon to Athens.

(1) Why the Lacedæmonians yielded the leadership.

(*a*) They saw no advantage to themselves in continuing the war with Persia.

(*b*) They could not trust their commanders abroad — Pausanias, their regent, had brought them into danger and disgrace by his conduct.

(*c*) They believed that by controlling the policy of Athens they could still enjoy virtual supremacy by sea as well as by land.

(2) Why Athens accepted the naval leadership.

(*a*) Her ambition for leadership and her powerful navy.

(*b*) Her close relations, through commerce and kinship, with the Asiatic Greeks.

(*c*) The request of the Asiatic Greeks, who preferred Aristeides and Cimon to Pausanias, and who felt that they would be safer under the protection of a naval power (Athens) than under a mere land power (Lacedæmon).

II. **Object of the Confederacy.**

1. Protection from Persia.
2. Plunder of Persian territory.

III. **Organization.**

1. Themistocles probably the chief organizer; see Timocreon in Plutarch, *Themistocles*.

2. Based upon the older Delian Amphictyony in —
   *a.* Religion — the worship of Apollo.
   *b.* Kinship — the nucleus of the Confederacy was Ionic.
   *c.* Seat of government — the island of Delos.
3. Patterned after the Peloponnesian League in —
   *a.* Congress of deputies from the allies under presidency of deputies from the leading city.
   *b.* Forces of the allies commanded by generals from the leading city.
   *c.* Independence of the allies guaranteed.
      (1) They could have whatever constitutions they wished.
      (2) They could enter into relations of war and peace with other states.
4. Advance beyond the Peloponnesian League.
   *a.* Permanent force — a navy for the security of the Ægean waters.
   *b.* Regular revenues: —
   Assessment of Aristeides.
      (1) Generally the larger states furnished ships and crews; the smaller paid taxes.
      (2) Total assessment — 460 talents a year.

**IV. Transition from Confederacy to Empire.**

1. Opposition to the Confederacy, which compelled Athens to use force in holding it together.
   *a.* Desire of the Greeks for the absolute independence of their towns, arising from —
      (1) The character of the city-state.
      (2) The individuality of the Greeks.
      (3) The ambition of leading families, who hoped to gain control of their states if the latter should be free from Athenian influence.
   *b.* Rapid expansion of the Confederacy, which —
      (1) Removed all fear of Persian attack.
      (2) Aroused the jealousy of the Peloponnesians.
2. Political incapacity of the allies.
   *a.* Inability to combine among themselves for the protection of their liberties against Athens. Such a combination of two hundred cities which were

widely separated and had few common interests demanded a political experience possessed by no people in the world at that time. It was inevitable, therefore, that the Confederacy fall to pieces, unless held together by force.

*b.* Indisposition of the allies to military service, leading to —

(1) The commutation of personal service for money payments, and the consequent —

(2) Degradation of the allies to the condition of protected subjects.

3. Character of Athens as leader.

*a.* Her power relatively so great as to leave no scope for equality between herself and her allies.

*b.* Growth of democracy (from Aristeides to Pericles), which aimed at equalizing the citizens by enlisting as many of them as possible in the paid service of the state, which demanded —

(1) Large revenues.

(2) A vast amount of public work. Athens supplied this work by assuming a stricter control of the affairs of the allies, — by converting the Confederacy into an Empire.

4. Events of the transition.

*a.* Revolt of Naxos, 469 B.C.

*b.* Battle of Eurymedon, 468 B.C.

*c.* Revolt of Thasos; interference of Lacedæmon, 465 B.C.

*d.* Rupture between Athens and Lacedæmon, 462 B.C.

*e.* War between Athens and some of the Peloponnesians, 458 B.C.

*f.* History of the Athenian Continental Federation, 456–447 B.C.

*g.* Transfer of the treasury from Delos to Athens, 454 B.C. (or earlier).

### B. The Athenian Empire

I. **Origin**; see A, IV.

II. **Organization and Government.**

1. Two classes of allies.

*a*. Independent — Chians, Lesbians, and Samians — enjoying all the original privileges of the allies; see A, III, 3, *c*.

*b*. Dependent — all the rest: *allies* from the point of view of state law; in reality, *subjects*.

2. Treaties imposed by Athens upon the dependent allies, which —

*a*. Deprived them of the privileges mentioned in A, III, 3 *c*.

*b*. Assured them democratic governments.

*c*. Required them to send their more important law cases to be tried before Athenian courts.

3. Tributes. (Gilbert, p. 420 ff.; Greenidge, p. 196 ff.).

*a*. Division into tribute-districts.

*b*. Quadrennial assessments.

*c*. Hellenic treasurers; payments and forced collections.

*d*. Substitution of export and import duties, 413/12 B.C.

4. Jurisdiction. (Gilbert, p. 429 ff.; Greenidge, p. 196 f.).

*a*. Cases brought to Athens.

*b*. Judicial officers.

*c*. Limitation of the independence of the allies.

5. Religion.

*a*. Athena takes the place of Apollo; allies participate in the Panathenæa.

*b*. The Eleusinian worship.

6. Athenian colonies (cleruchies).

*a*. Object.

(1) To provide the poorer Athenians with land.

(2) To garrison the Empire.

*b*. Effect.

(1) Assimilation of the allies to Athens in language, customs, etc.

(2) Resented by the allies as an encroachment upon their property.

**III. Condition of the Allies.**

1. Very prosperous — the Empire advantageous to them.

2. The majority contented; dissatisfaction of a few.

IV. Place of the Empire in history.

1. The highest political development yet reached by the Greeks.

2. It gave the Romans models of municipal organization and administration.
3. It enabled Athens to make her enormous contribution to civilization.
4. It did much towards making the Attic dialect, literature, and civilization the common property of Greece.

V. **Causes of its Overthrow.**

1. Sources of weakness within.
   *a*. The love of the allies for town independence — the schemes of ambitious politicians (oligarchs).
   *b*. The narrowness of the Athenian policy in relation to the allies.
2. The fear and jealousy of the Athenian power on the part of the Peloponnesians, which led to —
3. The Peloponnesian War, which ended in the dissolution of the Empire.

VI. **Sources of Information.**

*a*. Original.
*b*. Modern.

## STUDIES

### CHAPTER I

1. Compare the migration of the Angles and Saxons into England with the migration of the Greeks into Greece. How are the Greeks and the English related? See p. 331, n. 1.
2. Compare the life of the early Greeks (1) with the life of the earliest European settlers in America; (2) with the life of the North American Indians.
3. Had the harbors been mostly on the west coast of Greece, what would have been the effect on the character and history of the Greeks?
4. Why did the Greeks improve more by contact with the Phœnicians than the North American Indians did by contact with the Europeans?
5. Why were the earliest kingdoms in the deltas? What are the differences between these kingdoms and those of modern Europe?

6. What do we learn of life in the palace from the passage of the *Odyssey* quoted on p. 5 ff.? How much progress had the Greeks made since they came into Greece?
7. Describe from the map the area of the Mycenæan civilization.
8. Why did the earliest Greek colonists go east rather than west?
9. Draw a map of the Ægean coasts and islands, and place on it the Ionians, the Æolians, and the Dorians.
10. In what respects was the civilization of Ionia in advance of that of Mycenæ?
11. If the government under which we live should cease to protect our lives, who would undertake this duty? Why did not the Greek government of the Epic Age protect the lives of the citizens?
12. Were the Greeks of the Epic Age more hospitable than the moderns are? If so, why?
13. Did the Greeks of the Epic Age have a single standard of value?
14. Compare the government of the Epic Age with any modern government with which you are acquainted.
15. What is the difference between the town-meeting of the Greeks in the Epic Age and that which we now find in the United States?
16. Why did not the Greeks abolish the office of king? Why have not the English done so?
17. Was there more good than evil in the religion of the Epic Age? What are the reasons for your opinion?
18. Compare the Mycenæan Age with the Epic Age.
19. Write a short paper on "Life in the Mycenæan Age" (Tsountas and Manatt, Gardner, Holm); on "Government in the Epic Age" (Grote, Holm, etc.).
20. Make an outline analysis of this chapter; see model outlines, p. 337 ff.

## CHAPTER II

1. How much of the story of the Phæacians (p. 20) is true?
2. Were there families, brotherhoods, and tribes before there were cities?

3. What are the differences between a Greek state and a modern state?
4. Trace the development of the large Greek state (Athens or Sparta) from the tribal organization of society.
5. Why did not Thebes become in early times as strong as Athens or Sparta?
6. Why did the Plain have the advantage over the Hills in early Greek warfare?
7. If you were to live in the city of Athens or of Sparta, which would you prefer, and why? If you were to live in the suburbs of Athens or of Sparta, which would you prefer?
8. Compare Attica with Thessaly in the seventh century B.C. Which was the further developed state at the time?
9. What were the chief attractions for colonists in Italy and Sicily?
10. Why should the laws of Zaleucus be more severe than those of our country? What great service did the Greeks do for the world in lawmaking?
11. What were the principal motives for colonization?
12. Mention some Dorian cities which were commercial. Mention one which was agricultural. Were the Dorians chiefly agricultural, or chiefly commercial? What were the principal occupations of the Ionians? Which were more enterprising, Dorians or Ionians?
13. Compare Sparta with Locri; with Tarentum.
14. Did the colonies or the mother country advance more rapidly in civilization? How did the colonies benefit the mother country? Compare the Greek colonies with the modern European colonies in various parts of the world. What were the boundaries of Greece in the middle of the sixth century B.C.? Did Greece always have the same boundaries?
15. Write a paper on "Theseus"; on "The Dorian Migration"; on "Colonization in the West." For bibliography, p. 40.
16. Make an outline of the subjects treated in this chapter.

## CHAPTER III

1. Compare the decline of kingship at Athens with the decline of kingship in Ionia (Ch. I).

2. Make an outline of the history of the office of king from the Tribal Age to its overthrow at Athens. Distinguish periods of growth and decline.
3. Compare Draco with Zaleucus.
4. Was Solon's currency reform honest? Was it beneficial? Compare the present agitation for currency reform in the United States.
5. Which altered the government more, Draco or Solon?
6. What changes did Solon make in the four census classes?
7. What power did Solon transfer from the Council of the Areopagus to the popular supreme court?
8. Should we speak of "Solon's Constitution"? In referring to recent English history, would it be right to say "Gladstone's Constitution"?
9. Trace the development of the following institutions from the earliest times to the end of Solon's legislation: (1) Council of the Areopagus; (2) assembly; (3) archons; (4) census classes.
10. Compare Solon with Draco; with Cylon; with Zaleucus.
11. Was Lycurgus a man or a god?
12. Compare the Spartans and the Athenians of the seventh century B.C. in culture and in military power.
13. Compare the Laconian helots with the poor tenants of Attica. Would it be right to say "Spartan helots"?
14. Was the life of a Spartan preferable to that of a periœcus?
15. At what time did the government of Athens and of Lacedæmon most nearly resemble each other? Compare them at this time.
16. Write a paper on Solon; on Lycurgus.
17. Make an outline of the subjects of this chapter.

## CHAPTER IV

1. What was the difference between a king and a tyrant?
2. What reasons are there for believing that Cleisthenes of Sicyon was a wise and able ruler? What indications are there of his wealth and power? Which was the more powerful state in his time, Sicyon or Athens, and why? Why did Athens gain control of a larger territory than Sicyon did?

3. Which was preferable, a tyranny or an oligarchy? Which did the common people prefer, and why? Why did the families of tyrants degenerate rapidly? Compare the tyrants of Corinth with those of Sicyon; with those of Athens.
4. Compare Arcadia with Laconia in respect to country, people, and government.
5. Compare the Peloponnesian League with the United States (1) in general government; (2) in the relations of the states to each other and to the central government.
6. Compare Isagoras and Cleisthenes of Athens in character and in policy. Which was the more admirable man? Why did the Council of Four Hundred resist Isagoras?
7. Compare the Athenian government of 590 B.C. with that of 500 B.C. What changes had taken place between Solon and Cleisthenes? Which one of these men made the greater change in the constitution? Make a comparative table of their reforms.
8. Why did the Corinthians favor Athens? Did the Corinthian speaker tell the whole truth about tyranny?
9. Make an outline of the separate histories of Athens, Sparta, and Argos to 500 B.C., dividing into periods and giving the characteristics of each period (Holm, Abbott, etc.).
10. Compare Greece in 500 B.C. with Greece in 600 B.C. How much progress was made in this century?
11. Write a paper on "The Tyrants"; on "The Alcmeonidæ"; on "The Development of the Athenian Constitution from Solon to Cleisthenes."

## CHAPTER V

1. Would you prefer to read the poems of Homer or of Hesiod? Which were the more useful?
2. Judging from the map, which country do you think was better situated for commerce, Attica or Bœotia? Why was not Bœotia a commercial country?
3. How does personal poetry differ from epic poetry?
4. What were the early Greek philosophers aiming to discover?
5. What progress did the Greeks make in morals and religion from the Tribal Age to the end of the period covered by this chapter?

6. Did the oracle of Apollo benefit the Greeks more than it injured them?
7. Compare Pindar's idea of the future life with that of Homer.
8. Write a paper on "The Great National Games"; on "The Religion of the Greeks"; on "Pindar"; on "Sappho."
9. Make an outline of the subject of this chapter.

## CHAPTER VI

1. Why did Crœsus admire the Greeks?
2. Write a connected history of Ionia, with especial reference to civilization from the time of its colonization to the beginning of the war with Persia (Chs. I, V, VI).
3. Compare the Ionians with the Spartans; with the Athenians.
4. Were the Æolians and the Dorians of Asia Minor in any respect better than the Ionians?
5. Who was the abler ruler, Crœsus or Cyrus?
6. What did Cyrus mean by the fable of the piper and fishes?
7. Why were the Ionians unwilling to unite in one state?
8. What objection had the Spartans to purple robes? How do you suppose they dressed?
9. What was the religious feeling of the Greeks with reference to digging channels?
10. Why should the thorough organization of the Persian empire make the government rest more heavily upon the Ionians?
11. What seems improbable in the story of the message of Histiæus to his son-in-law?
12. In what respect were the Spartans kinsmen of the Ionians? Were they as near as the Athenians in kinship?
13. Did the Athenians act justly towards Phrynichus?
14. Should we praise the Athenians and the Spartans for their treatment of the king's heralds?

## CHAPTER VII

1. What were the causes of the war with Persia?
2. Did the Lacedæmonians have any especial reason for not wishing to help the Athenians at the time of the battle of Marathon?

3. With what object was Hippias guiding the Persians in their invasion of Attica? Give the previous history of Hippias.
4. Compare the Persian mode of fighting with that of the Greeks (cf. Ch. VI).
5. To what political party did Miltiades belong? Why did the republicans oppose him?
6. Was ostracism of advantage to Athens in the years immediately following the battle of Marathon?
7. Give the history of the archons and of the Council of the Areopagus, from the earliest times to the year 487 B.C. What was the previous history of the office of general?
8. Which seems to have served his country better, Themistocles or Aristeides?
9. What was the chief fault of Sparta in conducting the war for the defence of Greece against Persia?
10. What city deserved most credit for the victory at Salamis? at Platæa?
11. Did the Delphic oracle help the Greeks in the war with Persia? (cf. Ch. V).
12. From Æschylus' account of the battle of Salamis, describe the manœuvres of the Greek ships.
13. Could the Greeks have been successful in the war without the help of Sparta and of the Peloponnesian League?
14. What were the causes of the war with Carthage?
15. Compare the Carthaginian invasion with that of the Persians.
16. Make an outline of the war with Persia and Carthage, including causes, principal events, general character, and results.
17. Compare the Persian war with the American Revolution.

## CHAPTER VIII

1. Compare Hieron with Pisistratus.
2. Give the history of Syracuse from the earliest times to the overthrow of tyranny. How does the history of Syracuse compare with that of Athens?
3. What were the principal peoples of Italy in the time of Hieron? Describe the character and civilization of the Etruscans. (Consult some history of Rome, as Mommsen, Ihne, or How and Leigh.)

4. What had the principal Greek states sacrificed, and what had each achieved, in the war with Persia?
5. What might have happened, had not Themistocles outwitted the Lacedæmonians with reference to the fortifications of Athens? Had Athens remained unfortified, what would probably have been her relations with Sparta? Is Themistocles to be blamed for the trick?
6. Why were the Lacedæmonian commanders untrustworthy?
7. Write an account of the life and character of Themistocles; of Aristeides; of Pausanias. Compare these men with each other.
8. Write the history of the Delian Confederacy, following the outline on p. 338.
9. Is the Athenian policy of holding the Confederacy together by force justifiable? What would have happened to the allied states if the Confederacy had been dissolved?
10. Give a brief sketch of Greek culture, from the earliest times to the end of the Age of Cimon. Give a similar sketch of Greek religion.
11. Compare the religious ideas of Æschylus with those of the Christians.
12. Give the history of the Council of the Areopagus, from the earliest times to the year 462 B.C.
13. Draw a parallel between the histories of eastern and western Greece during the Age of Cimon.
14. Write a paper on "Cimon" (see especially Curtius).

## CHAPTER IX

1. Write a brief biography of Ducetius (Freeman, Holm, Grote).
2. Give an account of the Samnites (Histories of Rome by Mommsen, Ihne, Duruy, How and Leigh, etc.).
3. How long was Athens in the Peloponnesian League? Give a sketch of her relations with the League to 462 B.C.
4. Discuss the character and social position of the helots.
5. Why did the conservatives of Athens oppose war between their city and her neighbors?
6. Give briefly the history of Bœotia, from the earliest times to the year 457 B.C.

7. Compare Athens and Lacedæmon in 456 B.C., with respect to their military power and the extent of territory which they respectively controlled.
8. Compare Cimon and Pericles with respect to character and policy.
9. Show how the Confederacy of Delos was converted into the Athenian empire. How did the rise of democracy at Athens contribute to this change? How did this change contribute to the rise of democracy at Athens and among the allies?
10. Read Thucydides on the revolt of the Samians, with a view to determining whether they had sufficient cause for revolt.
11. Give the history of the popular supreme court, of the archonship, and of the relations between these two institutions, from Solon to 457 B.C. Why should the rise of the court and the decline of the archonship go hand in hand?
12. Compare the Athenian jury system with that of our own time. Which is preferable?
13. Compare the process of legislation at Athens, after Pericles, with that in our own country.
14. Write a paper on "Slavery in Greece."
15. Write a paper on "Art in the Age of Pericles."
16. Contrast the Athenians with the Spartans in the Age of Pericles (see especially the *Funeral Oration of Pericles* in Thucydides).
17. Write an outline of the subjects treated in this chapter.

## CHAPTER X

1. Which was the stronger in 431 B.C., Athens or Lacedæmon? What are the reasons for your opinion? Which state was chiefly responsible for the war? Make an outline of the causes of the war.
2. Write an account of the plague at Athens (Thucydides, Grote, Curtius).
3. Write a biography of Pericles, with your estimate of his character and achievements. Compare him with Themistocles.

4. Was Cleon a demagogue or a statesman? Write an argument on this subject (Grote, Cox, Curtius, Holm, Whibley, Greenidge, etc.).
5. Compare Demosthenes and Nicias as commanders. Compare Demosthenes with Brasidas.
6. Would Pericles have advised the attempt to conquer Bœotia? Give reasons for your opinion.
7. Write a biography of Alcibiades, with a discussion of his character and ability.
8. Debate the question whether the Athenians were right in their treatment of the Melians.
9. What can be said in favor of the Athenian expedition to Sicily?
10. Compare the Athenian disaster in Sicily, 413 B.C., with that in Egypt, 454 B.C.
11. Make an outline of the Peloponnesian War to the year 413 B.C.

## CHAPTER XI

1. Was there more evil than good in the New Learning? Give reasons for your opinion.
2. What was the effect of the New Learning on the history of Athens? Why is it necessary to study Greek philosophy in connection with Greek history?
3. Is it right for an orator in any sense "to make the worse cause appear the better"?
4. Is there anything irreligious in Ion's address to Phœbus (p. 219)?
5. What is wrong with the argument of the youth mentioned on p. 220?
6. Which was the more truly religious, Euripides or Aristophanes? Which did more for the improvement of his countrymen?
7. Write a biography of Socrates.
8. Which was the better historian, Herodotus or Thucydides?
9. Why was the Persian king pleased with the defeat of Athens in Sicily? Does his conduct towards the Greeks help us to appreciate the service which Athens had been performing for her allies?
10. Why did not the educated men of Athens make good rulers?

11. Compare the rule of the Four Hundred with the Knightly Aristocracy of Athens, 750–650 B.C.; with the government of Athens in the time of Draco.
12. Were the Athenians wise in refusing the terms of peace offered by Lacedæmon after the battle of Arginusæ and after that of Cyzicus?
13. Make an outline of the subjects of this chapter.

## CHAPTER XII

1. Give an account of Sicily from Gelon to Dionysius I.
2. Compare Dionysius I with Pisistratus.
3. Write an account of the wars which Dionysius I waged with the Carthaginians (Freeman, Holm).
4. Write a biography of Timoleon (Plutarch). Compare him with Pyrrhus.
5. What were the advantages and disadvantages of Roman rule to the Greeks (Histories of Rome)?
6. Make an outline of the subject of this chapter.

## CHAPTER XIII

1. Compare the rule of Sparta with that of Athens.
2. Write an account of the rule of the "Thirty" (Grote, Curtius, Holm).
3. Compare the condition of Lacedæmon in the fourth century B.C. with her condition in the seventh. In this interval what changes had been made in the Lacedæmonian constitution?
4. Write a biography of Agesilaus (Xenophon, Plutarch). Compare him with Lysander.
5. Was the treaty of Antalcidas a disgrace to Greece? Who was responsible for it?
6. Write a biography of Epaminondas (Grote, Curtius, Holm).
7. Write a paper on "The Character and Methods of the Oligarchic and Democratic Parties in Greece."
8. What were the defects in the Lacedæmonian system? Did Greece gain anything from the Spartan supremacy? (cf. Ch. XIV).
9. Make an outline of the subject of this chapter.

## CHAPTER XIV

1. Were the Athenians wise in joining Lacedæmon against Thebes? Give the previous history of the relations between Athens and Lacedæmon.
2. Compare the rule of Thebes with that of Sparta.
3. In times of adversity, did the Spartans conduct themselves more admirably than the Athenians?
4. How have the English and the Americans learned self-government? Give from Greek history examples of natural and artificial constitutions, and compare their merits.
5. Was Thebes more blameworthy than Sparta had been for inviting Persia to meddle in Greek affairs?
6. Write a biography of Pelopidas (Plutarch).
7. Write a history of the general Hellenic conventions in the fourth century B.C., comparing them with each other (Grote, Holm).
8. Compare the civilization of the fourth century B.C. with that of the fifth.
9. Compare the three great Greek historians.
10. Compare Praxiteles with Pheidias.
11. Make an outline of the subjects of this chapter.

## CHAPTER XV

1. Why did not Thessaly and Macedon develop in civilization as rapidly as Attica?
2. Compare the Macedonians with the Homeric Greeks.
3. Write a biography of Philip (Grote, Holm, Hogarth).
4. Could we say that in the time of Philip the Athenians had declined from the fifth century B.C.?
5. Was Demosthenes wise in constantly opposing Macedon? Debate this question.
6. Compare the Macedonian army under Philip and Alexander with that of Lacedæmon; with that of Thebes under Epaminondas.
7. Was the rise of Macedon advantageous to Greece?
8. Make an outline of the subject of this chapter.

## CHAPTER XVI

1. Can we say that under the rule of Philip and of Alexander Greece was still free?

2. Write a biography of Alexander (Arrian, Plutarch).
3. Compare the career of Alexander with that of Hannibal, Cæsar, or Napoleon.
4. Are there reasons for believing that without Philip and Alexander the Greeks would ever have conquered the Persian empire?
5. Had Alexander lived to old age, what may we reasonably suppose he would have accomplished?
6. Were the conquests of Alexander beneficial to the conquered?
7. Were the Greeks unwise in opposing Alexander?
8. Compare, with respect to quality, the Alexandrian literature with that of Greece in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.
9. Write a history of Greek federations (Freeman).
10. Write a biography of Aratus; of Cleomenes (Plutarch).
11. Is it to be regretted that Rome conquered Greece?
12. What benefits do we derive from a study of Grecian history? Why should we pay more attention to the civilization of the Greeks than to the details of their campaigns and battles?
13. Make an outline of the subjects of this chapter.

## Events in Chronological Order

| B.C. | |
|---|---|
| **Remote past** | **The Tribal Age.** |
| 1500–1000 (about) | **The Mycenæan Age.** |
| | Colonization of the Ægean Islands and of Asia Minor. |
| 1000 (about) | Colonization of Cyprus. |
| 1500–700 (about) | **The beginnings of states and of leagues.** |
| 1000–700 (about) | **The Epic Age.** |
| 776 | **The First Olympiad.** |
| 753 (?) | Institution of decennial kings at Athens. |
| 750–550 (about) | **Colonization of Italy and Sicily,** of the north Ægean coasts, of the Hellespont, the Propontis, and the Black Sea coasts, Cyrene, etc. |
| 753–650 (about) | **Period of the Knightly Aristocracy at Athens.** |
| 725 (about) | The First Messenian War. |

| B.C. | |
|---|---|
| 713 (?) | The office of king at Athens thrown open to the nobles. |
| 700 (about) | Pheidon king of Argos. |
| | Life of Hesiod, the poet. |
| 683 | Institution of annual offices at Athens. |
| 683 (or later) | Institution of the thesmothetæ at Athens. |
| 670–560 (about) | The Orthagoridæ (family of Cleisthenes) rule Sicyon. |
| 655–582 | The Cypselidæ rule Corinth. |
| **650–594** | **Period of the Timocracy of the Heavy-armed Infantry at Athens.** |
| 650 (about) | The Second Messenian War. |
| 640 | Cylon of Athens winner in the Olympic games. |
| 628 (?) | Cylon's conspiracy. |
| **621** | **Draco's legislation.** |
| 610 (about) | Solon takes Salamis for Athens. |
| **594** | **Solon Archon and thesmothete — his legislation.** |
| 594–590 (?) | The First Sacred War. |
| 582–580 | Damasias Archon of Athens. |
| 556–468 | Life of Simonides. |
| **560–527** | **Pisistratus tyrant of Athens.** |
| 560–546 | Crœsus king of Lydia. |
| 558–529 | Cyrus king of Persia. |
| 553 | Cyrus throws off the Median yoke. |
| 550 (about) | War between Lacedæmon and Argos for the possession of Cynuria. |
| | The Peloponnesian League well developed. |
| | **Sparta the head of Peloponnese.** |
| 546 | Cyrus begins to conquer the Greeks of Asia Minor. |
| 529–522 | Cambyses king of Persia. |
| 527–510 | Hippias tyrant of Athens. |
| 525–456 | Life of Æschylus. |
| 522–485 | Darius king of Persia. |
| 522–448 | Life of Pindar. |
| 514 | Darius invades Europe (Scythian expedition). |
| 510 | Sybaris destroyed by the men of Croton. |
| 510–508 | Trouble between Isagoras and Cleisthenes of Athens. |

| B.C. | |
|---|---|
| 508 | **Cleisthenes reforms the government of Athens.** |
| 499–494 | **The Ionic revolt.** |
| 499–498 | Aristagoras at Sparta and at Athens. |
| 498 | Burning of Sardis; defeat of the Greeks at Ephesus. |
| 497 | Battle of Lade. |
| 496–406 | Life of Sophocles. |
| 494 | Capture of Miletus. |
| | Miltiades flees to Athens. |
| 493 | Archonship of Themistocles; improvement of the harbors of Peiræus. |
| | Mardonius invades Europe. |
| 490–479 | **War with Persia and with Carthage.** |
| 490 | **Battle of Marathon.** |
| | Expedition of Miltiades to Paros; his condemnation. |
| 487 | Change in the mode of filling the archonship at Athens — the government becomes more democratic. |
| 485 | Gelon becomes tyrant of Syracuse. |
| 484 (?)–425 (?) | Life of Herodotus. |
| 483 | Ostracism of Aristeides. |
| 482 | **Themistocles' naval decree passes.** |
| 480–406 | Life of Euripides. |
| 480 | **Battle of Thermopylæ; battle of Artemisium.** |
| | The Athenians withdraw from Athens. |
| | **Battle of Salamis.** |
| | **Battle of Himera.** |
| 479 | **Battles of Platæa and Mycale.** |
| | Alliance between the Athenians and some of the Asiatic Greeks. |
| 478 | Siege of Byzantium; the Athenians gain the naval leadership of the Greeks. |
| | Themistocles fortifies Athens. |
| 477–454 (?) | **The Delian Confederacy.** |
| 477 | Organization of the Confederacy. |
| 476 | Themistocles fortifies Peiræus; attends the Olympic games. |

| B.C. | |
|---|---|
| 476–475 | The expedition of Leotychidas to Thessaly. |
| 475 | Themistocles in the Amphictyonic Council at Delphi; his trial for treason. |
| 474 | Battle off Cumæ. |
| 472–465 | Revolution in Sicily. |
| 472 (?) | Ostracism of Themistocles. |
| 472–471 | Death of Pausanias; flight of Themistocles. |
| 470–400 (about) | Life of Thucydides. |
| 469–339 | Life of Socrates. |
| 469 | Revolt of Naxos. |
| 468 | The battle of the Eurymedon. |
| 464 | Themistocles goes to the court of the Persian king. |
| | Earthquake at Sparta; revolt of the helots. |
| 463 | Cimon reduces Thasos. |
| 462 | Cimon leads a force to the aid of the Lacedæmonians against the helots. |
| | **The Council of the Areopagus deprived of its political functions; introduction of pay for jury service.** |
| | Rupture in the alliance between Athens and Lacedæmon. |
| (?) | Assassination of Ephialtes. |
| 461 | The Sicilian republics firmly established. |
| | The ostracism of Cimon. |
| 461–431 | **The Age of Pericles.** |
| 459 | Expedition to Egypt. |
| (?) | Surrender of Mount Ithome. |
| 458 | Battle in Megaris; battle off Ægina. |
| | The Long Walls begun. |
| 457 | The Bœotian League restored. |
| | Battle of Tanagra. |
| | The Zeugitæ admitted to the archonship at Athens. |
| 456 (?) | Battle of Oenophyta. |
| 456–447 | **Athenian Continental Federation.** |
| 456 | Conquest of Ægina. |
| 454 | Athenian disaster in Egypt. |

| B.C. | |
|---|---|
| (?) | **Transfer of the confederate treasury from Delos to Athens; the Delian Confederacy becomes the Athenian Empire.** |
| 451 | The Five Years' Truce between Athens and Lacedæmon. |
| 450–385 (about) | Life of Aristophanes. |
| 450–380 (about) | Life of Lysias. |
| 449 | Death of Cimon. |
| 447 | The Athenians compelled to evacuate Bœotia. |
| 446 | Eubœa and Megaris revolt against Athens. |
| 445 | **The Thirty Years' Truce between Athens and Lacedæmon.** |
| 443 | Founding of Thurii. |
| 442 | Ostracism of Thucydides, son of Melesias. |
| 440 | The revolt of Samos. |
| 438 | The Parthenon completed. |
| 437–432 | The building of the Propylæa. |
| 436–338 (about) | Life of Isocrates. |
| 435 | Corinth defeated by Corcyra. |
| 434–354 (about) | Life of Xenophon. |
| 432 | Battle off Sybota. |
| | The Peloponnesian Congress declares war upon Athens. |
| 431–404 | **The Peloponnesian War.** |
| 431 | The Thebans surprise Platæa. |
| | The Peloponnesians invade Attica; Pericles ravages the Peloponnesian coast. |
| | Pericles delivers his funeral oration. |
| 430 | The plague at Athens. |
| 429 | Death of Pericles. |
| | Phormion gains two naval victories for Athens. |
| 428 | Revolt of Lesbos. |
| 427 | Lesbos surrenders to Athens. |
| | Platæa surrenders to Lacedæmon. |
| | Sedition in Corcyra. |
| 427–347 | Life of Plato. |
| 426 | Demosthenes fails to conquer Ætolia for Athens; wins a brilliant victory over the Ambraciots. |

| B.C. | |
|---|---|
| 425 | **Demosthenes seizes Pylos.** |
| | Peace negotiations. |
| 424 | The Athenians capture Cythera and Nisæa. |
| | The expedition of Brasidas. |
| | Peace in Sicily. |
| | Battle of Delium. |
| 423 | Truce for a year. |
| 422 | Battle of Amphipolis. |
| 421 | **Peace of Nicias** |
| 418 | Battle at Mantineia. |
| 417 | Ostracism of Hyperbolus. |
| 416 | The conquest of Melos. |
| 415–413 | **The Sicilian expedition.** |
| 414–413 | The siege of Syracuse. |
| 413 | The Peloponnesians invade Attica. |
| | Ruin of the Athenian armament at Syracuse. |
| 412 | The Chians and other allies of Athens revolt. |
| | Treaty of alliance between Persia and Lacedæmon; Persia with her money supports the war against Athens. |
| 411 | **Rule of the Four Hundred at Athens.** |
| | Alcibiades recalled from banishment. |
| 410 | Athenian victory at Cyzicus. |
| | Peace negotiations. |
| 409 | The Carthaginians invade Sicily. |
| 407 | Lysander defeats the Athenians; Alcibiades returns into exile. |
| 406 | The battle of Arginusæ; condemnation of the Athenian generals. |
| | Siege of Acragas. |
| 405 | **The battle of Ægospotami; siege of Athens.** |
| | Dionysius I becomes tyrant of Syracuse. |
| 404 | **End of the Peloponnesian War.** |
| 404–371 | **The Supremacy of Sparta** |
| 404–403 | **Rule of the "Thirty" at Athens.** |
| 403 | Return of Thrasybulus and the patriots. |
| | Lysander in trouble. |
| 401 | Expedition of Cyrus. |
| 400 | War between Lacedæmon and Persia begins. |

| B.C. | |
|---|---|
| 398–397 | War between Lacedæmon and Elis. |
| 397–392 | War between Dionysius I and Carthage. |
| 397 | Accession of Agesilaus. |
| 396 | Agesilaus takes command of the Lacedæmonian army in Asia Minor. |
| 395–387 | **The Corinthian War.** |
| 394 | Battle off Cnidus. |
| 393 | The Long Walls rebuilt. |
| 390 | Iphicrates destroys a battalion of heavy-armed Spartans. |
| 387 | **Treaty of Antalcidas.** |
| 383–379 | The Lacedæmonians wage war upon the Chalcidic Federation. |
| 383 | The Lacedæmonians seize the citadel of Thebes. |
| 382–322 | Life of Demosthenes. |
| 379 | Fall of the Theban oligarchy. |
| 377 | Athenian maritime confederacy reorganized. |
| 371 | Hellenic peace convention at Sparta. |
| | **The battle of Leuctra; end of the Spartan supremacy.** |
| 371–362 | **Thebes attempts to gain the leadership in Greece.** |
| 371 | Theban invasion of Peloponnese; founding of Megalopolis and of Messene. |
| 370 | Jason of Pheræ assassinated. |
| 367–356 | First tyranny of Dionysius II. |
| 362 | **The battle of Mantineia; death of Epaminondas and decline of Thebes.** |
| 359–336 | **Philip king of Macedon.** |
| 357–355 | The Social War. |
| 357–346 | War between Athens and Macedon. |
| 356–346 | The Sacred War. |
| 353 | Onomarchus defeats Philip. |
| 352 | Philip defeats and kills Onomarchus. |
| 352–349 | Rapid development of Philip's power. |
| 351 | The First Philippic of Demosthenes. |
| 350 (about) | The Mausoleium built. |
| 349–348 | The three Olynthiac Orations of Demosthenes. |
| 348 | Fall of Chalcidice. |

| B.C. | |
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| 346 | **The Peace of Philocrates; destruction of the Phocian towns.** |
| 346–345 | Second tyranny of Dionysius II. |
| 345–337 | The career of Timoleon. |
| 343–338 | Struggle between Philip and Demosthenes. |
| 340 (about) | The battle of the Cremisus. |
| 338 | **The battle of Chæroneia.** |
| | King Archidamus of Sparta defeated and slain in Italy. |
| | Hellenic League under Macedon. |
| 336 | Philip assassinated. |
| 335 | Thebes destroyed. |
| 336–323 | **Reign of Alexander the Great.** |
| 334 | Alexander invades Asia; battle on the Granicus. |
| 333 | **Battle of Issus.** |
| 332 | **Siege of Tyre; Alexandria founded.** |
| 331 | **Battle of Arbela.** |
| 330–325 | Alexander's further conquests and explorations. |
| 325 | Alexander's march through the Gedrosian desert. |
| 323 | **Death of Alexander.** |
| 322 | The Lamian War; death of Demosthenes. |
| 301 | **The battle of Ipsus.** |
| 280 | The Achæan League renewed. |
| 280–274 | **Pyrrhus in Italy and Sicily; Magna Græcia falls under the power of Rome.** |
| 264–241 | **The First Punic War; Sicily falls under the power of Rome.** |
| 221 | Cleomenes of Sparta defeated by Antigonus of Macedon. |
| 219–201 | The Second Punic War. |
| 216 | The battle of Cannæ. |
| 197 | **War between Rome and Macedon; the battle of Cynoscephalæ.** |
| 168 | **The battle of Pydna.** |
| 146 | Macedon becomes a Roman province. |
| | **The destruction of Corinth.** |

## Bibliography

For the convenience of purchasers, the titles of works on Greek history with the publishers' prices are here arranged, according to their relative importance, in "libraries." Considerable reductions from these prices can often be obtained.

### I. The Smallest Library

Herodotus, translated by Macaulay, 2 vols. New York: Macmillan. ($4.50.)

Homer, *Iliad*, translated by Lang, Leaf, and Myers. Macmillan. ($1.50.)

Homer, *Odyssey*, translated by Butcher and Lang. Macmillan. ($1.50.) Or, translated by Palmer. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin. ($1.50, students' ed. $1.00.)

Thucydides, translated by Jowett. Boston: Lothrop. ($3.00.)

Xenophon, translated by Dakyns, vols. i and ii. New York: Macmillan. ($5.00.)

Holm, *History of Greece*, 4 vols. New York: Macmillan. ($10.00.)

Jebb, *Greek Literature* (primer). New York: American Book Co. ($.35.)

Kiepert, *Atlas Antiquus*. New York: Macmillan. ($1.50.) Later edition. Boston: Leach, Shewell, Sanborn. ($2.00.)

Mahaffy, *Survey of Greek Civilization*. Meadville: Flood and Vincent. ($1.00.)

Murray, *History of Ancient Greek Literature*. New York: Appleton. ($1.50.)

Tarbell, *History of Greek Art*. Meadville: Flood and Vincent. ($1.00.)

Tozer, *Classical Geography* (primer). New York: American Book Co. ($.35.)

### II. A Good Library

The books named above, and in addition, —

Æschylus, translated by Plumptre (verse). New York: Routledge. ($1.50.)

Aristophanes (select plays), translated by Frere. New York: Routledge. ($.40.)

Aristotle, *On the Constitution of Athens*, translated by Kenyon. New York: Macmillan. ($1.10.)

Euripides, translated by Coleridge (Bohn, prose), 2 vols. Macmillan. ($3.00.) Single dramas, 14 vols. ($.30 each.)

Pindar, translated by Myers. Macmillan. ($1.50.)

Plutarch, *Lives*, translated by Stewart and Long (Bohn), 4 vols. Macmillan. ($4.00.)

Sophocles, translated by Coleridge (Bohn, prose). Macmillan. ($1.50.) Single dramas, 7 vols. ($.30 each.) Or, translated by Plumptre (verse). New York: Routledge. ($1.50.)

Blümner, *Home Life of the Ancient Greeks*. New York: Cassell. ($2.00.)

Cox, *Tales of Ancient Greece*. London: Kegan Paul. ($2.00.)

Freeman, *Story of Sicily*. New York: Putnams. ($1.50.)

Greenidge, *Handbook of Greek Constitutional History*. New York: Macmillan. ($1.25.)

Marshall, *Short History of Greek Philosophy*. Macmillan. ($1.10.)

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Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander*, translated by Chinnock (Bohn). New York: Macmillan. ($1.50.)

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Abbott, *Pericles*. Putnams. ($1.50.)

Curtius, *History of Greece*, 5 vols. New York: Scribners. ($10.00.)

Gayley, *Classical Myths in English Literature*. Boston: Ginn. ($1.65.)

Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*. New York: Macmillan. ($2.50.)

Gilbert, *Handbook of Greek Constitutional Antiquities*. Macmillan. ($3.00.)

Grote, *History of Greece*, 12 vols. New York: Harpers. ($18.00.)

Hogarth, *Philip and Alexander of Macedon*. New York: Scribners. ($2.50.)

Jebb, *Classical Greek Poetry*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin. ($1.50.)
Mahaffy, *Alexander's Empire*. New York: Putnams. ($1.50.)
Mahaffy, *Social Life in Greece*. New York: Macmillan. ($2.50.)

IV. The following books also are valuable: —

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Aristophanes, translated by Hickie, 2 vols. (Bohn.) New York: Macmillan. ($3.00.)
Demosthenes, translated by Kennedy, 5 vols. (Bohn.) Macmillan. ($5.00.)
Herodotus, translated by Rawlinson with notes, 4 vols. New York: Scribners. ($24.00.) Text of the same, with notes abridged by A. J. Grant, 2 vols. Scribners. ($3.50.)
Pausanias, translated by Shilleto, 2 vols. (Bohn.) New York: Macmillan. ($3.00.) Or, translated by Frazer, with extensive commentary. Macmillan. ($30.00.)
Plato, translated by Jowett (third edition), 5 vols. Oxford University Press. ($20.00.) Earlier edition of the same, 4 vols. New York: Scribners. ($8.00.)
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Allcroft and Masom, *Early Grecian History*; *The Making of Athens*; *The Peloponnesian War*; *Sparta and Thebes*; *The Decline of Hellas*; *History of Sicily*. New York: Hinds and Noble. ($.70 each.)
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